TN S L U1891 DO ST UNIV
E TENNESSEE LIBR
PERIODICALS LIBR
THE SHERROD LIBR
JOHNSON CITY TN
AUG2987
3DG 539
376.14

The Nation.

December 21, 1985 $1.25; U.K. 65p

EDITORIAL

SOCK IT TO THE STATES

No one—not even the Office of Management and Budget, the Congressional Budget Office or Jimmy the Greek—knows for certain what consequences will derive from the deficit reduction bill passed last week and the tax reform bill stalled as of this writing in the House, but it's clear that a major upheaval in social policy is in the works. A hint of what this change may be lies in the way the question of Federal payments and subsidies to local governments keeps cropping up in different places. Last week budget director James C. Miller 3d was reportedly ready to recommend deep slashes in government aid to states and municipalities in fiscal 1987. The deficit reduction act will, in effect, mandate radical cuts in Federal tax contributions to cities and states, since big-ticket items such as Social Security, the debt service and certain social programs have been declared inviolable. President Reagan still wants to eliminate deductions for state and local taxes, although House Democrats retain them in their tax reform bill.

If one or more of those proposals is adopted, as seems probable, "small government" will be in bigger economic trouble than "big government" ever was, even in Reagan's twisted historical perspective. Local taxes rose as Federal levies fell, but cities are still strapped and services continue to deteriorate. The urban poor and rural dispossessed are doubly assaulted by Federal cutbacks in direct aid and by reductions in local services. The middle class is already in widespread rebellion against income and property tax hikes.

If the tax battleground shifts from Washington to the grass roots, politics will get hotter for the Democrats, who organize much of America at the bottom while the Republicans stay cool at the top. Reagan will rest on his upper-bracket tax cut, but the rest of the country will scramble for crumbs from a smaller cake.

MACARTHUR FUND—III
Jamie Kitman

SPANISH SOCIALISTS
Adrian Shubert

ROBERT HAYDEN'S POEMS
ward Hirsch

STAR WARS WHIZ KIDS
Peter Pringle

MISSILES AS THEATER
Richard J. Barnet

THEATER AS DEBATE
Paul Berman

THE PRIVACY INVADERS

LIES, DAMN LIES—AND POLYGRAPHS

DANIEL JUSSIM

A machine that monitors blood pressure, respiration and the skin's electrical conductivity is depriving tens of thousands of law-abiding people of jobs every year. Used by employers as a means to ends both dubious and devious, the polygraph is nevertheless becoming as familiar as the time clock in more and more American workplaces. In the private sector alone, estimates of the number of polygraph tests administered annually range from several hundred thousand to 2 million. The American Polygraph Association says that three-quarters of them are used in pre-employment screening. A Presidential directive revealed last week swells the number of Federal employees who must undergo examination.

The test is most commonly used by businesses in which low-level employees handle large sums of cash daily in return for modest checks weekly, such as banks, restaurants and department stores. But all kinds of concerns tap into their workers' supposedly telltale heartbeats: meatpacking companies, hospitals and even the Yale Club have used "lie detectors" to screen prospective employees, check up on workers periodically or track down culprits in the wake of a theft or act of sabotage. Usually a security firm is hired to do the dirty work, but some businesses have in-house operations. Because employers who favor polygraph testing generally make it a condition of employment, workers find it difficult to refuse to take the test.

The machine is especially popular among employers who resent Federal and state regulations on hiring and firing; its reputation as a supposedly scientific tool gives them a license to re-

(*Continued on Page 682*)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LETTERS.

WHAT'S THE PROBLEM?

Charlottesville, Va.

It is unfortunate that Edward W. Said did not read Joan Peters's *From Time Immemorial* with more care ["Conspiracy of Praise," Oct. 19]. He might have modified his opinions somewhat.

For instance, a review of pages 152 and 169 of her book would show that her citation of the medieval historian Maqrizi was only with reference to Tartar migrations in 1296 and not to events centuries after he died.

Reading her chapter on the nineteenth-century population of western Palestine would show that she thinks the area was 10 percent Jewish, not mostly Jewish.

Reading her study of immigration into Palestine during the period of the British mandate would show that she thinks about one-quarter of the Arabs in Palestine in 1948 were immigrants.

I do not understand why Said reacts so violently to these assertions. An examination of documents written at the time, such as the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, would show that Arab and Moslem immigration into Palestine was common knowledge. A person could believe that western Palestine was a coastal strip into which both Arabs and Jews have moved during the past few centuries, and still be sympathetic to the Palestinian Arabs. I know I am. *Jonathan Mark*

FELLOW SEMITES

Sausalito, Calif.

In his otherwise admirable review, Edward W. Said perpetuates a common but serious error when he speaks of "Arab . . . anti-Semitism" when he means Arab anti-Jewish sentiment. Arabs *are* Semites; this cannot be pointed out too often.

Why is this such an important point? Both here and in Israel, hard-line Zionists are referring to Arabs in distinctly racist terms. Forcing such people to face the fact that they are dealing with fellow Semites may introduce some humanity into their thinking.

Of course, this point of view might be taken as condoning racism, but not, I trust, by intelligent readers of *The Nation*.

Nancy H. Knox

SAID REPLIES

New York City

Joan Peters has a way of infecting her enthusiasts, Jonathan Mark among them. On page 169 we read about how governments imported immigrants to Palestine. Two quotations about 1860 and 1870 follow. Then Peters says: "Kurds, Turcomans, Naims, and other colonists arrived in Palestine *around the same time* [emphasis added] as the Jewish immigration waves began [on page 168 this is described as "the nineteenth century"]. Eighteen thousand 'tents' of Tartars, the 'armies of Turks and Kurds,' whole villages settled in the nineteenth century of Bosnians, Moors, etc. . . ." The "Tartar" detail is footnoted on page 491 of *From Time Immemorial* as Maqrizi; a reader could be forgiven for assuming that Peters regards Maqrizi as a source of the nineteenth century.

Mark's second point, about the nineteenth-century population of Palestine, is totally irrelevant, since I made no reference to "the nineteenth-century population of western Palestine" in what I wrote.

His third point shows how understandably confused he has been by Peters's shifting from "inmigration" to "immigration." As her figures are imaginative in both instances, it's good to point them out clearly to Mark: inmigrants, those Palestinians who moved from one part of Palestine to another, were, according to Peters, 168,000 from a population of 800,000; immigrants, those "Arabs" who came to Palestine from neighboring countries, vary in Peters's estimates from "at least 200,000" (page 381) to 4 million (page 253). A statement not cited by Peters is made in *The Population of Israel* (Columbia University Press, 1979), by Don Friedlander and Calvin Goldscheider, chair of the Department of Demography, Hebrew University: "Arab population growth during the British mandate period was almost entirely the result of high natural increase" (page 17).

Nancy H. Knox's general antiracist conclusion about racism is a good one, although my reference to "Arab anti-Semitism" was taken from Peters and her supporters.

Edward W. Said

GOOD OLE MOLLY

Chicago

That Molly Ivins ["The Gibber Wins One & Other News," Nov. 23] is a good ole girl. I love reading her stuff better'n a hog loves slop. Matter of fact, I'd ruther read one of her columns as have a dip of snuff.

Keep printing her up. She pleasures us down-home folks—even those who've become Yankee scalawags.

Charles-Gene McDaniel

HUMAN RIGHTS AND NICARAGUA

New York City

Alexander Cockburn writes that Nicaragua's "human rights record, on the testimony of Amnesty International and Americas Watch, has been decent" ["Beat the Devil," Nov. 2]. It is not a word we have used, nor would we use it.

Although we consider the Reagan Administration's distortions of the human rights record in Nicaragua to be indecent, and although we would join Cockburn in rejecting comparisons to South Korea, Chile and the Philippines, that is not the same as giving any kind of approval to Nicaragua for its human rights practices. Nicaragua has mistreated the Miskito Indians; substituted special tribunals for due process of law; restricted freedom of expression in ways that are not necessary to deal with the emergency it faces; and engaged in some killings, disappearances and abuses of prisoners. Until recently, we thought the human rights record of the Nicaraguan government was improving. Now, the reimposition and tightening of emergency rule (for example, the suspension of *habeas corpus*; the 1982 decree was not clear on this and practices had varied) make us fear that the human rights situation will deteriorate again.

Aryeh Neier
Americas Watch

COCKBURN REPLIES

New York City

It is of course Aryeh Neier's right to reject my ascription of the word "decent," although I think the word fairly evokes the present performance of the Nicaraguan government and the recent reports from Amnesty International and Neier's own organization. I should add that the tenor of the rest of his letter is misleading and presumptuous.

Misleading: Because the mistreatment of Miskitos, admitted by the Sandinistas, is long past, as are the extremely few killings and disappearances. So far as the emergency decrees are concerned, the London *Guardian*'s correspondent in Nicaragua, Tony Jenkins, wrote in the December issue of *South*: "Having made their point, the Sandinistas allowed the National Assembly to water down the legislation. The suspension of the right of *habeas corpus*, for example, will now only apply to crimes related to national security." (In this same article, incidentally, Jenkins noted that a few days before its great outcry over the Nicaraguan emergency decrees, the U.S. press barely interrupted its paeans to José Napoleón Duarte when the Salvadoran National Assembly extended the longstanding state of siege under which almost all constitutional guarantees and civil rights have been suspended. Actually I don't think it interrupted the paeans at all.)

Presumptuous: Because Neier's isn't necessarily the last word on what Nicaragua needs to do "to deal with the emergency it faces." Neier belongs to the nation with its boot on Nicaragua's neck, and he might ask himself whether his country would permit the subsidizing of a major newspaper here by an aggressor financing the murder of thousands of U.S. citizens, or whether his country would, in such a state of war, permit journalists to move freely around the country and file hostile dispatches back home to newspapers and magazines openly advocating the overthrow of the elected government of the United States. *Alexander Cockburn*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTENTS.

Volume 241, Number 21

LETTERS
666

EDITORIALS
665 Sock It to the States
667 Ill-timed Missile
668 Dance of Death — *Fritz Eichenberg*
668 "Sun City" Rap
669 Taking a Stand
670 A Christmas Story

COLUMNS
671 Minority Report — *Christopher Hitchens*

ARTICLES
665 The Privacy Invaders: Lies, Damn Lies—and Polygraphs — *Daniel Jussim*
672 The Socialists and NATO: Bringing Spain Back Into Europe — *Adrian Shubert*
674 MacArthur Foundation—III: The Gold-plated Charity Machine — *Jamie Kitman*
680 Trouble in Palau: Can the Island Stay Nuke Free? — *Ellin Stein*

BOOKS & THE ARTS
685 Hayden: Collected Poems — *Edward Hirsch*
686 Broad: Star Warriors: A Penetrating Look Into the Lives of the Young Scientists Behind Our Space Age Weaponry — *Peter Pringle*
688 Johnstone: The Politics of Euromissiles: Europe's Role in America's World — *Richard J. Barnet*
690 The Nearness (poem) — *Curtis Harnack*
690 Theater — *Paul Berman*

Drawings by Bill Logan

Editor, Victor Navasky

Executive Editor, Richard Lingeman; *Associate Editors,* Elsa Dixler, Andrew Kopkind; *Assistant Editor,* Katrina vanden Heuvel; *Literary Editor,* Elizabeth Pochoda; *Assistant Literary Editor,* Maria Margaronis; *Poetry Editor,* Grace Schulman; *Copy Chief,* JoAnn Wypijewski; *Assistant Copy Editor,* Judith Long; *Editorial Secretary,* Marpessa Dawn Outlaw; *Interns,* Gwen Bondi (Washington), Richard Cranmer, Vania Del Borgo, Ted Jin, Robert Morrissey, Jim Naureckas, Joseph R. Puterbaugh, Margo Schneidman; *On leave,* Kai Bird, Katha Pollitt.

Departments: Art, Arthur C. Danto; *Dance,* Mindy Aloff; *Films,* Andrew Kopkind; *Lingo,* Jim Quinn; *Music,* Evan Eisenberg, David Hamilton; *Theater,* Paul Berman; *Correspondents: Washington, D.C.,* Christopher Hitchens; *Latin America,* Penny Lernoux; *Europe,* Daniel Singer; *London,* Raymond Williams; *Paris,* Claude Bourdet; *Defense,* Michael T. Klare; *Columnists and Regular Contributors:* Calvin Trillin (*Uncivil Liberties*), Stephen F. Cohen (*Sovieticus*), Kai Bird & Max Holland (*Capitol Letter*), Alexander Cockburn (*Beat the Devil*), Thomas Ferguson & Joel Rogers (*The Political Economy*). *Contributing Editors:* Blair Clark, Herman Schwartz, Gore Vidal. *Editorial Board:* James Baldwin, Norman Birnbaum, Richard Falk, Frances FitzGerald, Philip Green, Elinor Langer, Sidney Morgenbesser, Aryeh Neier, Elizabeth Pochoda, Marcus G. Raskin, A.W. Singham, Roger Wilkins, Alan Wolfe.

Manuscripts: All work submitted will be read by the editors. The magazine cannot, however, be responsible for the return of unsolicited manuscripts unless they are accompanied by self-addressed stamped envelopes.

Publisher, Hamilton Fish 3rd

Associate Publisher, David Parker; *Advertising Director,* Chris Calhoun; *Business Manager,* Ann B. Epstein; *Bookkeeper,* Ivor A. Richardson; *Art/Production Manager,* Jane Sharples; *Circulation Director,* Stephen W. Soule; *Director of Development and Publicity,* Micah L. Sifry; *Subscription Manager,* Cookee V. Klein; *Assistant Advertising Manager,* Neil Black; *Receptionist,* Greta Loell; *Mail Clerk,* John Holtz; *Administrative Secretary,* Shirley Sulat; *Production,* Terry Miller; *Typography,* David Acker, Christopher Bille, Randall Cherry; *Nation Associates,* Nancy Bacher; *Nation News Service,* Jeff Sorensen.

The Nation (ISSN 0027-8378) is published weekly (except for the first week in January, and biweekly in July and August) by Nation Enterprises and © 1985 in the U.S.A. by the Nation Associates, Inc., 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (212) 242-8400. *Washington Office*: Suite 308, 110 Maryland Avenue N.E., Washington DC 20002 (202) 546-2239. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. International Telex: 667 155 NATION.

Subscription orders, changes of address and all subscription inquiries: *The Nation*, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305. *Subscription Price*: One year, $45; two years, $81. Add $7 per year for postage in Canada, Mexico; $13 per year for other foreign. Claims for missed issues must be made within 60 days (120 days foreign) of publications date. **Please allow 6-8 weeks for receipt of your first issue and for all subscription transactions.** Back issues $3 prepaid ($4 foreign) from: *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011. *The Nation* is available on microfilm from: University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

EDITORIALS.

Ill-timed Missile

It came up by chance, or apparently so. Assistant Secretary of State Elliott Abrams was testifying on December 5 before a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee when a Republican Congressman asked him about the Nicaraguan helicopter shot down by *contras* the previous day. Cubans were piloting the craft, Abrams offered, which fact revealed the sinister extent of Castro's takeover in Central America. "You now have Cubans fighting, not just in Africa but on the mainland of North America," he stated. "Cubans are running the war

The helicopter incident does suggest that an escalation of the conflict has begun, although it has nothing to do with Cuban imperialism. It may be only mischievous nonsense for Abrams to assert that Cuba is running the Nicaraguan defense—not even the biased U.S. press in Managua writes that—but it is fair to say that the United States is directing the *contra* effort. *The Washington Post*, among others, has reported that the rebels' strategy flows directly from the National Security Council in the White House, and certainly the extensive U.S. military and intelligence presence in Honduras and other Central American oases has a hand in the hostilities. But it's just not credible to claim that the *contras* would use a surface-to-air missile for the first time in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Nicaragua without some form of assent from the Reagan Administration: a nod, a wink, a thumbs up or more official terms of agreement.

The main *contra* force, the F.D.N., has had the weapons for a long time, but they have been restrained from using them precisely because their introduction would so clearly constitute an escalation. The Nicaraguans have indicated their interest in getting jet fighters to protect their MI-8 transport helicopters—one of which was the target of the *contra* missile—but the United States has warned them that any such procurement would invite airborne retribution. Against that threat, Nicaragua says that it will have to get its own MIGs if the United States replaces Honduras's old Mystere fighters with new American F-5s. The balance of power and weaponry in Central America is precarious, but a certain tacit arms limitation agreement was in effect, and the *contra* missile has shattered it.

Whether or not the Administration approved the firing in advance, a simple word of caution or a second thought might have restabilized the situation. Secretary of State Shultz offered just the opposite. "Thank goodness that they did get hold of some weapons that can knock these choppers down," he exulted. What will he say when the Nicaraguans move to protect their choppers in the air, which is their right and their responsibility? Or if the neighboring Salvadoran rebels of the F.M.L.N. acquire surface-to-air missiles and use them against the U.S. planes now laying waste much of the countryside? One shot can resonate throughout the region, with deadly consequences.

The Administration is already using the Cuban bogey to justify increased U.S. military involvement in Nicaragua. Soon after the first of the year, President Reagan will ask Congress for a sizable appropriation for "lethal aid" to the *contras*—none of that "humanitarian" masquerade anymore. Another in the endless series of military exercises in Honduras will be staged in January; these games have become a permanent feature of the U.S. war effort in Central America. The shadowy strategists of the *contra* show are preparing to launch an F.D.N. second front from the Costa Rican border to replace the failed effort of Edén Pastora and his rebels, who proved to be squeamish about accepting old assassins, torturers and thieves from the Somoza National Guard into their ranks.

In the United States, the battle to stop the next phase of the Administration's escalation will be more difficult than ever. Liberal Democrats who blocked the military aid appropriation last spring admitted as the vote was being tallied that it would be their last clear legislative victory. Before Daniel Ortega ever took off for Moscow, they were searching their political linen closets for a likely towel to throw into the ring. The $27 million humanitarian aid package fairly sailed through Congress, and in an election year it looks like only a national political effort will convince representatives that there is a constituency against intervention.

'Sun City' Rap

"Sun City" is a song, an album, a video, a political pamphlet, a paperback book and a kind of spontaneous media movement against apartheid in South Africa and complicity with racism in the United States. It partakes of this year's most popular political model, message music, but it is as different from "We Are the World" as "The Battle Hymn of the Republic" is from "Old Folks at Home." The multimedia "Sun City" package represents an extraordinary collaboration of multiracial and multicultural elements, with the purpose of raising consciousness at least as much as raising money. It agitates more than it sanctifies, and it calls on its audience to press for change rather than to petition for charity. And as one critic remarked, "It makes every other message song seem like a nursery rhyme."

The actual Sun City is a Las Vegas–like resort in the phony South African black "homeland" of Bophuthatswana, where white South Africans and token blacks with the means to engage in travel and leisure can escape to enjoy

Dance of Death

FRITZ EICHENBERG

Sometimes the mute witness of the artist can be more eloquent than the editorialist's words. The woodcuts on this and the following pages, by Fritz Eichenberg, demonstrate this principle. They were selected from a cycle of engravings that comment on the dark and inescapable outrages of our time. During his long and distinguished career Eichenberg has frequently wielded his pen and engraving tool against political folly, beginning with the rise of Adolph Hitler in his native Germany. He is well known as an illustrator of fine editions, teacher, printmaker and pacifist. —*The Editors*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the guilty pleasures banned or restricted within the official borders of the white nation. Linda Ronstadt, Rod Stewart, Ray Charles and Frank Sinatra, among others, have performed there for huge fees. But Africans struggling against the Pretoria regime organized a Sun City boycott on the ground that the very existence of the resort and the international cultural support it drew were designed to legitimize the apartheid system by creating an artificial exception—the way the homelands themselves were meant to legitimize white rule in South Africa. The United Nations endorsed the boycott, and hundreds of local organizations throughout the world followed suit.

"Sun City," the song, album, etc., mobilized a cast of musical greats and unknowns, from Bruce Springsteen and Pat Benatar to Via Afrika and the Malopoets of Soweto, to urge their fellow artists in song and dance not to play the resort. With a mixture of rock, rap, reggae, salsa, jazz, African sounds and British beat, the hard-driving rhythms create a new kind of protest music aimed at a mass audience that has been lulled into passivity or escapism. The lyrics specifically attack the Reagan Administration's hypocritical policy of "constructive engagement," and the video version intercuts shots of the singers hip-hopping down New York's mean streets with searing images of streets of fire in African townships and Alabama cities. "What we wanted to do," said one of the directors, "was to bring the South Bronx to Bophuthatswana." This month Penguin Books began selling an instant paperback about the making of the album and the struggle in South Africa. It contains a slip-out fact sheet and guide to activism, which the organizers hope schools and colleges will use to fuel the growing antiapartheid movement.

Naturally, the oppositional character of "Sun City" does not sit easily with political managers and cultural commissars in South Africa or the United States. Radio stations in both countries have banned the song. Some program directors here say they won't play it because it's "too controversial"; others insist "it doesn't fit our format," which is another way of saying it sounds too black for delicate white ears. But the video is climbing into the Top Ten in several cities, and local activist groups are campaigning to make their broadcasters put "Sun City" on the air. The director of Boston's WBCN, the FM station that has pioneered the Sun City movement, defended socially conscious programming: "If radio loses its conscience, we will be reduced to playing the soundtrack for the Apocalypse."

"Sun City" can already claim a specific political victory. In Vermont, a conference of colleges was called to demand that the state university sell off its South African financial holdings. Twice before, the trustees had refused to do so, but on December 6, with the "Sun City" video playing in the conference room down the hall, the trustees reversed their course and voted 12 to 7 for divestiture.

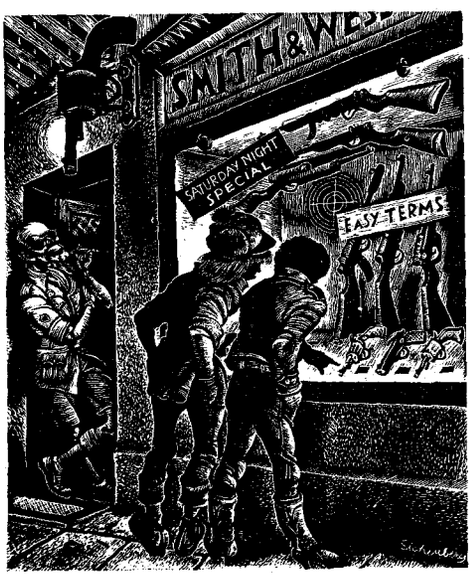
Taking a Stand

"One of the hallmarks of journalism is impartiality," observed Gil Noble, producer-host of WABC-TV's *Like It Is*, last week. "As a practitioner of this craft I have constantly striven to keep my personal feelings out of my news reports."

Noble spoke those words at a rally before the South African Mission to the United Nations in New York. He and other journalists, including Jim Jensen, anchor of WCBS-TV News, and John Siegenthaler, editor of *USA Today*, had doffed their trench coats of objectivity to picket the mission while their representatives presented officials inside with a petition condemning the Botha regime's ban on press coverage of riots in South Africa. In Washington a group of their colleagues held a similar rally at the South African Embassy.

Why did so many mainstream journalists decide to let their feelings out of the closet? Noble put it well:

> I am outraged and repelled about the undemocratic restraints imposed by the South African government on press coverage of news events in that nation. To deny freedom of the press violates the very Constitution under which I have lived.



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Silencing of the press is evil in its arrogant disregard of the right of the people to know what is going on. Moreover, press sanctions can backfire. Instead of quieting down an issue, they can inflame it.

That was indeed the case. After the blackout was announced, thirteen people were killed in Mamelodi in one day. We salute Winnie Mandela for her courage in defying her personal ban and circumventing the regime's press ban by speaking at a funeral there on December 3.

A Christmas Story

1. And it came to pass in those days that Congress in the land of Washington passed on October 19, 1984, a decree called the United States Institute of Peace Act. Now many of the citizens considered the act a Good Thing, for it affirmeth that studying ways to end war was a legitimate concern of the government of the United States. The lawmakers appropriated $14 million for it; then on the sixth day they recessed, saying, Lo, it *is* a Good Thing.

2. Now in that same place dwelled a President named Pontius Maximus Reagan. When he looked upon this edict of Congress he said, Lo, it is a Bad Thing, but I can't veto it because it is attached to the defense appropriations bill. Sorely tried, Pontius Reagan plotted his revenge, though whenever he spake to the people he always said, Yea, peace is a Good Thing.

3. Now the wise men in this land wondered at this Peace Institute, for the law said that Pontius Maximus Reagan must appoint unto it a board of directors. Days, weeks, months, went by but no word came down from Pontius Reagan. After the April 20 deadline passed, many forgot the Peace Institute, for though it was a Good Thing, there were matters of greater moment, such as Pontius' decree that the taxes of all his subjects should be reformed.

4. Meanwhile, Pontius Reagan's wise men came unto him and said, Lo, we have seen a Red Star in the East. The people wish you to make peace, so you should go forth unto Geneva, in the land of the Swiss, and proclaim, Peace on earth, good will to all men. Pontius Reagan did as he was admonished, and spake as he was told. But he also said that the Red Star was a false sign and that he had found the true star—Star Wars, to be exact—which would bring peace on earth to all who dwelt under its shield.

5. Upon returning to his palace, Pontius Reagan summoned his wise men to advise him about the Peace Institute, for the appointments to its board were long overdue. If I wash my hands of this cursed institute, he said, people will say I don't think peace is a Good Thing. But if I do what Congress wants I'll seem to be approving of the institute. I am sorely tried; get me out of this fix. And so the wise men said unto him, O great tribune, do as you did when you appointed James Watt of the Interior Department to ravage the land, and Ann Burford to the Environmental Protection Agency to ravage the environment, and Mark Fowler to the Federal Communications Commission to ravage public-interest broadcasting, and Kenneth Adelman to the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency to ravage disarmament. Pontius Reagan said, Yea, verily.

6. And so he appointed the new members of the Institute for Peace, and their names included John Norton Moore, archconservative director of the Center for Oceans Law and Policy at the University of Virginia; W. Bruce Weinrod of the Heritage Foundation; Dennis Bark of the Hoover Institution; W. Scott Thompson, a board member of the Committee for the Present Danger; Allen Weinstein, president of the Center for Democracy and latter-day persecutor of Alger Hiss; and Evron Kirkpatrick, husband of Jeane. Named as ex officio members were Kenneth Adelman; Richard Perle, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy; and Lieut. Gen. Richard D. Lawrence, president of the National Defense University.

7. Lo, that night an angel of the Lord came unto Pontius Reagan and said, You call this peace on earth, good will to men? Yea, replied Reagan. Peace is a Good Thing, but a defense buildup is a Better Thing.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MINORITY REPORT.

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Lusaka, Zambia

There are many definitions, both classical and impressionistic, of a revolutionary situation. One way of putting it is to say that when a subject people believe that they will outlive an oppressive regime, a revolution has begun. By that standard, the revolution in South Africa, long predicted but slow to develop, is under way. The pace and pitch and rhythm of it have begun to astonish even the veterans of the A.N.C.

The A.N.C., which has its headquarters here, was founded in 1912 as a modest lobby for what were then called native rights. Its Freedom Charter was not promulgated until 1955, seven years after South Africa's National Party began stripping away the few rights that black and colored people had enjoyed until then. Its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), was founded in 1961, by which time every peaceful outlet had been forcibly closed and every legal spokesman imprisoned. Ever since then, the A.N.C. has tended to follow events rather than to initiate them.

Today, events are moving in the A.N.C.'s direction with bewildering speed. Its forbidden colors—black, green and gold—are displayed at massive protest meetings and at the increasingly frequent funeral processions which are the only permitted form of public assembly. Nelson Mandela, its leader, has not been quoted, mentioned or depicted in a South African newspaper in the twenty-three years that he has been incarcerated. But his name is known and revered by schoolchildren and students who were not born when he made his famous final statement to the grotesque apartheid court: "I am prepared to die." In this latest phase of the crisis, almost 1,000 young civilians have made the same pledge, and have been taken up on it by P.W. Botha's gendarmerie.

Several days spent with A.N.C. spokesmen here have revealed another side of that picture. Ever since the rising in Soweto in 1976, they say, a stream of young people have been crossing the border into Zambia, usually illegally, and reporting for duty. "They don't want to catch up on their missed education," one congress leader told me, "though we offer them schooling. They don't want to learn a trade, though we offer them that too. They say that they want to work for the revolution, and so make education and training available to everyone. We tell them that we think it will take at least a decade." That is the prevailing view among the cautious, hardened, aging A.N.C. leaders here.

The members of the famous 1976 generation are comparatively new arrivals in Lusaka. They are not the only ones. White business leaders have been here too, led by Gavin Relly of the aptly named Anglo American Corporation and wearing embarrassed new expressions of friendship. The leadership of the Progressive Federal Party, a liberal and hitherto fence-sitting coalition now rather feeling the pinch, has also shown up for talks. Afrikaaner students from Stellenbosch University, the Harvard of the white supremacists, have also made direct contact with the A.N.C., even though the Botha regime took away their passports. And last week in Zimbabwe, a high-level A.N.C. delegation was invited to meet with the World Council of Churches and Bishop Desmond Tutu. The council and the Bishop, to whom I spoke, have in the past been inclined to condemn "violence," but their communiqué on this occasion was strongly inflected with the accents of liberation.

The political strength of the A.N.C. lies in its advocacy of a nonracial, as opposed to multiracial, society. Apartheid, as people tend to forget, does not merely separate black from white, it minutely denominates blacks by tribe and language. It demarcates Indians from Cape colored; it separates Chinese and Moslems; it even designates Japanese, for commercial purposes, as "honorary whites." This enables the regime to play a game of divide and rule, employing Zulus as policemen, for instance, and subsidizing Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's sectarian Inkatha organization. Under the Freedom Charter, race ceases to be a recognized social or political category. This farsighted and generous strategy has enabled the A.N.C. to emerge as the catalytic force in the new Congress of South African Trade Unions and to negotiate with enlightened whites as well as to include nonracialist ones in its leadership. The last of those achievements is the one that the Botha regime and its allies abroad find the most repulsive and dangerous. Many of the leading white A.N.C. members are Communists. The number-two man of Umkhonto we Sizwe, for example, is Joe Slovo, a Jew and a senior member of the South African Communist Party, who embodies everything that the bigots, with their long record of anti-Semitism, could possibly hate. But to the A.N.C. rank and file he exemplifies a tradition that extends through Bram Fischer, Denis Goldberg, Lionel Bernstein and other whites who shared Mandela's trial and captivity. Not all of them were members of the pro-Moscow S.A.C.P., but all were on the Marxist left, and it must be said that if the white churches and white liberals had displayed a fraction of those men's bravery and conviction, the present nightmare could well have been avoided.

A mass civilian uprising may still paralyze and even overthrow the apartheid state. But it may be a more protracted and sanguinary business than that. In either case, the A.N.C. has the capacity to impose a solution and to transmit and preserve the principles of a future nonracial society. I was told repeatedly—and I believe sincerely—by black, white, Indian and colored leaders, that they would vastly prefer to inherit a country unravaged by war and an economy not devastated by last-ditch white supremacists. But I was left in no doubt that the A.N.C. will fight if it has to and that very soon the apartheid police and army will find that they are no longer firing on an unarmed people.

As this process intensifies, we can expect to hear a good deal more from the American right about Communism. The specific weight of the S.A.C.P. in the movement is hard to gauge with exactitude, though its moral standing is extremely high. The revolution would, of course, have begun without this influence, but then without it we might not have witnessed the apparent miracle of a semislave population refusing to learn racialism from its masters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ARTICLES.

THE SOCIALISTS AND NATO

Bringing Spain Back Into Europe

ADRIAN SHUBERT

Spaniards may be excused if they are perplexed about their status in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Are they in or out? In the 1982 elections the Socialist Party advocated Spain's withdrawal from NATO and promised voters it would hold a referendum on the issue. After taking power, though, the party reversed itself. At a party congress last December the Socialists overwhelmingly approved a motion for remaining in the alliance, and this summer Prime Minister Felipe González announced that he may not pull Spain out of NATO even if the results of the referendum show that the voters favor doing so.

Until the conservative government of Adolfo Suárez decided that Spain should join the alliance, few Spaniards had any interest in NATO. In October 1978, 58 percent of those asked if Spain should join had no opinion. As the Spanish entry became more likely, opposition grew, and it remains high. Between October 1978 and June 1983, the proportion opposed rose from 15 percent to 56 percent. Polls taken in October showed that almost half the public was against Spain's remaining in NATO, while only 19 percent were in favor.

In the spring of 1982, when Suárez's successor, Leopoldo Calvo Sotelo, was moving quickly to bring the country into NATO, the Socialists mounted a counter drive. The effort mobilized a large number of people but was to no avail. That summer Spain became the Atlantic alliance's sixteenth member. This represented a milestone for a country that during Generalissimo Francisco Franco's reign was passed over by the Marshall Plan, barred from the United Nations until 1955 and blackballed by the European Common Market. Yet there was no rejoicing. NATO held a quiet ceremony in Washington, which the government hushed up at home as though Spain were being initiated into an unsavory secret society instead of a major international organization.

The government's reticence reflected the distrust of the United States among Spaniards, who have repeatedly shown themselves to be more fearful of a nuclear war than are other Europeans and who feel that the United States, particularly the Reagan Administration, is as great a threat to peace as the Soviet Union. In a poll taken during President Reagan's visit to Spain in May, 64 percent of the respondents said they do not regard the United States as a true friend of Spain; 74 percent felt that American arms policy is a danger to peace.

Immediately after their massive victory in the election of 1982 the Socialists announced they would halt further Spanish military integration into the alliance and commissioned a study of the nation's defense needs which would serve as a prelude to the promised referendum. Even so, Spain continued to be represented on numerous NATO bodies, such as the Defense Planning Committee and the Eurogroup, and maintained its observer status on the Nuclear Planning Group and the Special Consultative Group (which gives it access to information on the Euromissiles). What's more, Spain's participation in the alliance has increased in the past three years. The Minister of Defense attends meetings with representatives of the countries that form the so-called integrated defense structure of the alliance. France, which technically has the same relationship to NATO that Spain has (membership in the political but not the military wing), is not represented on any of these bodies.

The change in the Socialists' position on NATO can be traced, first, to the pressure from the United States and its European allies, who want Spain in the organization. Spain's military contribution to NATO is minimal, but the country has strategic value. Its location at the entrance to the Mediterranean Sea makes it an important station for the U.S. Navy. Its secure position behind the Pyrenees provides an ideal staging area or fallback position for NATO forces.

The Socialist government has undertaken an ambitious and costly program of reorganization and modernization of the armed forces, designed in part to neutralize them as a political threat and in part to bring them up to NATO standards. At a time of fiscal austerity, which among other things reduced the 1985 education budget, spending on armaments has soared. Spain is the third-largest recipient of U.S. credits for arms purchases, behind Turkey and Greece. When the U.S. Defense Department chose an untried British transport plane over the highly rated Spanish Aviocar last year, it was a warning that unless Spain remained in NATO it could not expect to sell arms to Washington. Spain is worried about the potential threat from Morocco to Ceuta and Melilla, its enclaves in North Africa. The United States has hinted in the past that it might not oppose an attempt by Morocco to take control of them.

Another reason for the Socialists' volte-face on NATO entry was that Prime Minister González hoped to use it as a bargaining chip in the negotiations on Spain's entry into the European Economic Community. The death of Franco and the restoration of democracy removed Europe's main objections to Spain's admission, but admittance was delayed by squabbling over several economic issues, involving fishing rights, tariffs and exports of agricultural products. González made it quite clear that his government would not join NATO unless it was accorded membership in the Common Market. But that linkage turned out to be a Catch-22. Following the E.E.C. summit in Dublin last December, Spain was told that before it would be accepted into the

Adrian Shubert is an assistant professor of history at York University in Toronto.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Common Market it would have to clarify its future role in NATO.

Spain was admitted to the E.E.C. on June 12, and three weeks later González shuffled his Cabinet. Most significant, Foreign Minister Fernando Morán, an outspoken opponent of NATO membership, was replaced by Francisco Fernández Ordoñez, who favors it and who was Minister of Justice and of Finance under Suárez. Spain's position on NATO was thus publicly clarified.

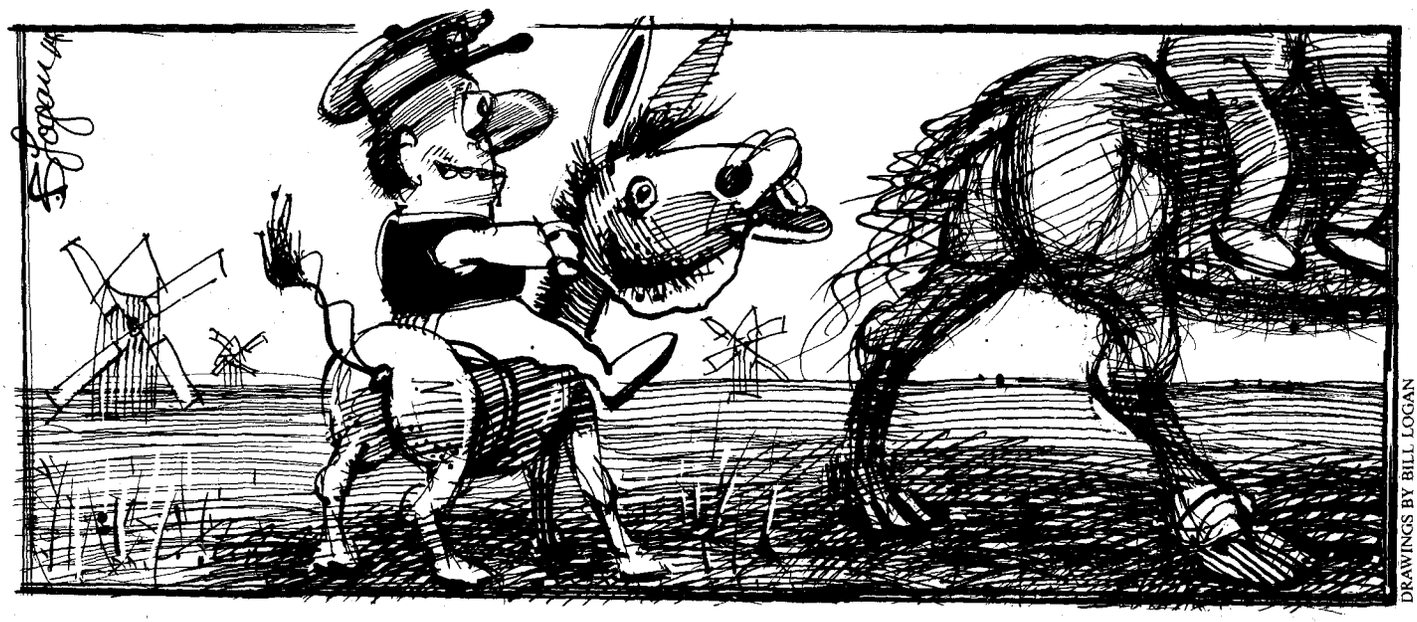
The González government played up the admission to the E.E.C. as a political victory to make Spanish participation in the Atlantic alliance more palatable to the people. It represents NATO as a European institution and minimizes the United States' pre-eminent role. If Spain is going to share in European prosperity, the government argues, it must do its part in the defense of the Continent. Spain's participation in the European effort to develop a new jet fighter and its support for the Eureka plan, the French alternative to Star Wars, must be seen in this light, as must the government's intention to negotiate a reduction in U.S. forces in Spain, announced during President Reagan's visit.

Membership in the E.E.C. is expected to stimulate the country's foundering economy. Much of Socialist economic policy, especially the controversial modernization of obsolete industries such as shipbuilding and steel, was planned in anticipation of joining the Common Market. The Socialists' determination to streamline those sectors, even at the cost of thousands of jobs, has antagonized the unions and led to demonstrations and even riots in the important industrial centers of Bilbao and Gijón.

The Socialists' economic policies differ little from those of Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. They include reducing government spending and cutting inflation to spur private investment and create jobs. However, while inflation has dropped from 14 percent to 7.9 percent, the lowest figure since 1972, government spending remains high and investor confidence low. The result has been growing unemployment, which has made a mockery of the Socialists' campaign promise to create 800,000 jobs in four years. In fact, nearly 700,000 jobs were lost between October 1982 and May 1985, and the official unemployment rate rose from 17 percent to 20 percent. The rate of unemployment among young people stands at 50 percent, and the number of young people who have never held a job is the highest in Europe.

Recent statistics, however, reveal some improvement in the economy. The number of unemployed workers remained stable in the third quarter of 1985, total employment increased and private investment is showing signs of revival. The government is also beginning to make some progress in effecting the *cambio*, or "change," promised during the election campaign. Reforms of the judicial system and in medical care are occurring despite fierce opposition from the powerful judges' and doctors' associations. Laws passed recently have democratized the procedure for selecting judges and have given patients more freedom in choosing doctors in the national health system. A rather timid law legalizing abortion in limited circumstances was declared constitutional by the Supreme Court after having been challenged by the main opposition party. (In August the woman and doctor involved in the first abortion performed under the new law were excommunicated by the Catholic Church.)

The education reform law, known by its acronym LODE, which was passed last March, has survived a similar constitutional challenge. The law's main purpose is to bring subsidized private elementary schools into a coordinated system open to all. More than any other government policy, this has antagonized conservatives, particularly in the church. Last November, 400,000 people demonstrated in Madrid against the LODE. More than 2.6 million students are enrolled in private elementary schools—90 percent of which are run by the church—compared with 4 million in the public schools. The government has subsidized private education since 1970. It spends approximately $400 million annually for this purpose, though the Ministry of Education has no say on how these subsidized institutions are run. In many cases the public is supporting elite education for the children of the middle and upper classes; meanwhile, there is



DRAWINGS BY BILL LOGAN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a severe shortage of classrooms in the public schools.

Perhaps the Socialists' greatest success has come in the fight against terrorism in the Basque provinces, even though violence flared up again recently. The government has been lenient with repentant terrorists, allowing them to return to Spain and resume normal lives, but it has taken stern action against those who continue to use violence for political ends. The major breakthrough came with the French government's decision to cooperate with Spain, thereby removing the border region as the basing point for the operations of Homeland and Liberty (E.T.A.).

The Socialists' record in their first three years has been mixed, at best. But, unlike their French colleagues, they are in no danger of losing power. González's immense personal popularity has survived the government's declining popularity as well as his own public relations gaffes, like taking a summer vacation on the yacht formerly used by Franco. He remains the most popular politician in the country.

More important is the absence of any credible alternative. On the left, the Communist Party is sinking deeper and deeper into internal bickering, which has plagued it since 1981 and reduced it to irrelevance. The principal opposition party, the Popular Alliance Federation, has lost almost as much support as the Socialists since the election. Its leader, the blustering Manuel Fraga, who was Information Minister under Franco, is generally seen as a dangerous reactionary, and that perception has prevented the party from capturing the electorally crucial center ground.

Holding that ground was the secret of the success of Adolfo Suárez's Union of the Democratic Center (U.C.D.), which won the first two post-Franco elections before fragmenting into political cliques. It was also the key to the sweeping Socialist victory in 1982. Various efforts are under way to create a party that can replace the U.C.D. and wrest the center from the Socialists. Suárez is attempting a comeback with a new vehicle, the Democratic and Social Center, and last December a number of small "liberal" parties joined together to form the Democratic Reformist Party. As yet neither has had much impact.

Last month Spain began a yearlong political marathon with regional elections in Galicia. The Socialists did well, improving on their showing of four years before. The referendum on NATO will be held in March or April, there will be regional elections in Andalucía in June and municipal and national elections are also due. But there is no prospect that the right will unite behind an attractive leader. Despite the equivocations and frustrations of the Socialists' three years in power, Felipe González and his party can confidently look forward to another term of office. □

REFLECTIONS ON A GLASS HOUSE:

THE U.N. AT 40

In this September 21, 1985, Nation Special Issue, nine scholars and activists assess the U.N.'s achievements and failures. They analyze the history of U.S. participation in the United Nations and examine the organization's role in disarmament, Middle East negotiations and in relations between the developed countries and the Third World. The issue, marking the U.N.'s fortieth birthday, serves as a much-needed rebuttal to the arguments of U.N. opponents. $3 each, $2 each for orders of 10 or more. Send check or money order, payable to The Nation, to The U.N. Issue, The Nation, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

MACARTHUR FOUNDATION—III

The Gold-plated Charity Machine

JAMIE KITMAN

Foundations are supposed to give away money, and their directors have a duty to see that this is done in an orderly fashion and in sufficient quantity to avoid the severe Federal tax imposed on charities that fail to distribute at least 5 percent of the value of their assets. Given its track record of paying board members fees that would make General Motors' directors blush, and of allowing the value of its primary asset—Bankers Life and Casualty Company—to drop by $200 million, it's not surprising that the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation failed to give away enough money.

The reason for the fund's miserliness is clear in retrospect. Because it opened its doors in 1978 with no liquid assets and subsequently delayed the sale of Bankers Life until 1984, it had no cash to dispense for several years. Obliged to meet the Federal distribution requirement nonetheless, the foundation board was forced to borrow money from the insurance company during the first five years. That was an unfortunate arrangement. Bankers Life's funds were limited (especially when it started to lose money); the foundation paid interest, on which the company was taxed; and problems with insurance regulators could be expected once the sale got under way.

A charitable foundation's annual minimum outlay is based on a yearly computation of its assets. From the start the MacArthur Foundation undervalued. Beginning in 1978 it used two sets of figures, a high one and a low one. The low set, prepared by investment advisers Warburg, Paribus, Becker, was for the Internal Revenue Service. The higher set, produced by the same firm for Bankers Life, was an accurate estimate of the company's fair market value. It was used for purposes of the sale of the company and, on at least one occasion, for computing bonuses for company officers, some of whom served as directors of the foundation.

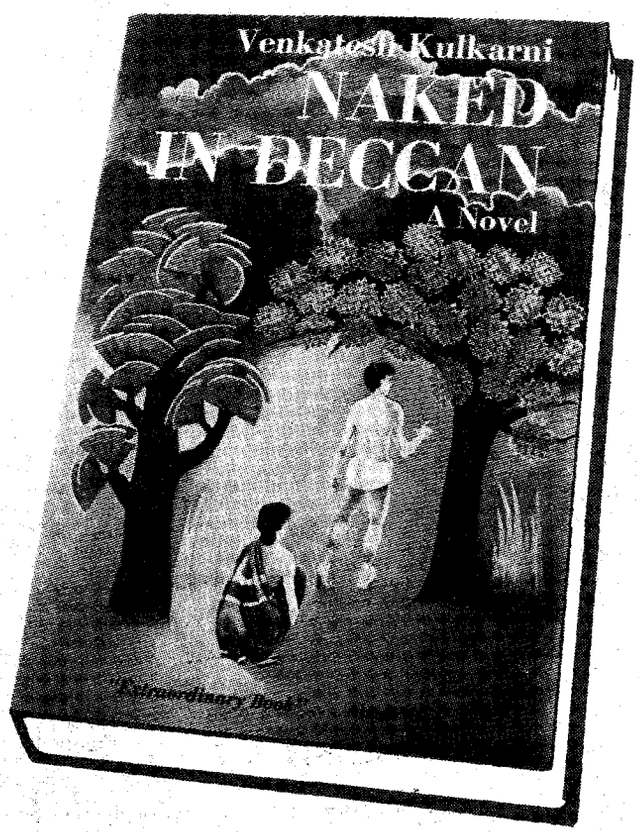
Jamie Kitman is a recent graduate of the Northeastern University School of Law. *This article was prepared, in part, with grants provided by the Fund for Investigative Journalism and the Funding Exchange/National Community Funds. He wishes to thank Vania Del Borgo and Robert Morrissey for their assistance.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is not a best seller. It's just a perennial seller.

Which book was refused by a record 375 publishers before its first English publication and will now be published in 37 languages?

NAKED IN DECCAN



Just published in Holland and Belgium (DUTCH edition) by NOVIB (Derek Jonge, ed.). May 1986 SWEDISH language publication by Bokforlaget Agora of Stockholm (B. Holmquist, ed.). June 1986 GREEK language publication by Roes of Athens (Dr. K. Kartakis, ed.). Look for other language announcements through 1991 in these pages.

Which book has been praised world-wide by great writers and fine intellectuals such as SOUTH AFRICA's Alan Paton and ALGERIA's Abdelhamid Benhedoega; ENGLAND's Walter Allen and URUGUAY's Ana Luisa Valdes; AUSTRALIA's Center for New Literatures in English and NEW MEXICO's Rudolfo Anaya; HOLLAND's Ivo Gay and PAKISTAN'S Bapsi Sidhwa; SPAIN's Carmen Balcells and INDIA's Shiv Kumar?

NAKED IN DECCAN

Which book has been praised world-wide (from the *Baltimore Sun* to *World Literature Today*) for its grand originality, sensuous power, philosophical intensity, beautiful crafting, sinewy, stark prose, vivid and concrete landscape, authentic characters, fine realism, deep sensitivity, and moving poignancy; in effect, for the unusual and extraordinary qualities that make it a classic?

NAKED IN DECCAN

Celebrating the second year of splendid success with Venkatesh Kulkarni's world-famous novel, the BCF American book award winner

NAKED IN DECCAN

Come celebrate with us this holiday season by reading NAKED IN DECCAN, a great, authentic and unsparing novel about the profound issues of the complex caste system and the all-too-human yet wonderfully heroic life of the modern untouchable, Thimma. Hardcover $16.95, shipping included. Stunning 4-color NAKED IN DECCAN poster $4.95 each.

Send to:
R & R SELLERS
10603 Ranier
Houston, TX 77031

Send me _____ copies of NAKED IN DECCAN.
Payment of $_____ enclosed.

Send me _____ 4-color posters of NAKED IN DECCAN.
Payment of $_____ enclosed.

Name _____

Address _____

City_____State_____Zip_____

By the same author next year
ALLAH BAKSH: THE MAN EATEN BY GOD

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Thus, in 1982 the foundation reported its value to the I.R.S. as $950 million. For that same year it used a figure of at least $1.2 billion to set bonuses for Bankers Life president Robert Ewing and others at the company. From 1978 to 1982, the discrepancies between the foundation's value as reported to the I.R.S. and its actual worth, as reported to the foundation by its financial advisers, were as follows:

	Reported Value*	Actual Value	Discrepancy
1978	396	930–1,000	534–604
1979	840	1,095–1,170	255–330
1980	875	1,110–1,190	235–315
1981	875	1,225	350
1982	950	1,375–1,400	425–450
Totals	3,936	5,735–5,985	1,799–2,049

(*all figures in millions of dollars)

Based on the 5 percent distribution requirement and allowing for numerous accounting adjustments, the foundation dispensed between $44 million and $53 million less than it would have if it had used the true valuation over the five-year period.

In a recent interview, foundation president John Corbally defended the dual sets of figures, saying that those for the I.R.S. were based on the market value of the Bankers Life stock, the foundation's primary asset. The stock was worth less than the company's assets, he explained, because of the company's varied holdings: "[One investor] might like insurance and hate rental properties. And you might like rental properties but hate insurance. [The stock is] worth less to you than the sum of its parts." It is difficult to credit Corbally's reasoning, especially when one considers that the foundation in several instances refused offers for the stock that were hundreds of millions of dollars higher than the valuation given to the I.R.S. Moreover, to get the most money for the properties, the foundation had to sell them separately, which is what it eventually did.

While understating the value of assets it owned, the foundation, on at least one occasion, grossly overstated the value of an asset it gave away. The fund paid $250,000 for the foundering *Harper's* magazine in 1980, and assumed liabilities of $1.189 million. During the twenty months that the foundation owned it, the monthly lost $3,722,824. The foundation duly reported the losses as charitable contributions. Then, in 1982, when it transferred *Harper's* to the newly formed Harper's Foundation (along with $1,986,812 in liabilities), it estimated that the magazine was worth an astounding $9.335 million, and applied that sum to its minimum distribution requirement. Had it used an accurate assessment of *Harper's* worth (perhaps the $250,000 it had paid for the magazine), it would have had to give away $9 million more that year. When asked about the foundation's figure by the *Chicago Tribune*, Rick MacArthur, the publisher of *Harper's* and the son of director Rod MacArthur, called it "preposterous."

Discussing the valuation recently, Corbally admitted that he doesn't "pretend to know how to value a magazine." *Harper's* "looked to me like it was worth nothing," he said, adding that the foundation had arrived at the figure by taking the middle estimate of three prepared by outside consultants. Rick MacArthur said the magazine had requested a copy of the consultants' report to see how they had arrived at their figures but the board had refused to provide it. "We never heard that there was an even higher one."

Perhaps the most serious criticism that can be made of the valuation discrepancies is that they jeopardized the foundation's charitable status. If the I.R.S. had disallowed the higher valuations, the fund would have faced an array of possible penalties, including a tax bill for roughly $500 million, the amount John MacArthur's heirs would have paid after the old man's death had he not bequeathed his money to charity.

Young MacArthur Returns

Rod MacArthur had threatened that he would bring a lawsuit against the directors if they refused to adopt his proposed reform measures limiting fees and removing directors' conflicts of interest. When he set out to make good on that threat, he had a hard time finding a law firm willing to sue the prominent businessmen, attorneys and academics on the foundation's board. When Kirkland & Ellis, a prestigious Chicago firm, agreed to take the case, foundation director William Kirby told Rob Warden of the *Chicago Lawyer* that the firm's decision to lend its good name to MacArthur was "a tragedy." It was an action, Kirby sniffed, brought by "a little man with a gun."

MacArthur's action, brought in November 1983 and amended three times over the next twelve months, alleged illegal self-dealing and waste of the foundation's assets through excessive compensation and mismanagement of funds. It charged the foundation with willfully failing to comply with the I.R.S. minimum distribution requirement by undervaluing its assets and inflating the value of its donations.

With the foundation's colossal resources at its disposal, a battery of high-priced Chicago attorneys was churning out legal paper in volume, throwing up procedural obstacles that did little to expedite the trial.

Both sides, meanwhile, vied for media attention. MacArthur was hindered in this effort by the issues, which by their breadth and complexity fell outside the ken of the average *Entertainment Tonight* report. The fact that he was facing off against respected local and national bigwigs didn't help him any. The league of Chicago gentlemen, on the other hand, was happy to simplify the issue for the media by portraying it as a personality dispute. As Corbally told Kathleen Teltsch of *The New York Times* on February 15, 1984, the board deplored MacArthur's "continuing efforts to create one-man rule over this foundation." Robert Ewing personalized matters a bit more when he told reporter Joel Achenbach of *The Miami Herald*'s Sunday magazine, *Tropic*, that he was so disgusted with the controversy that he wanted to quit the foundation board, except "I won't give [MacArthur] that satisfaction."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But the defendant directors couldn't relax. Cook County is not renowned for the impartiality or scholarship of its jurists, so MacArthur had been lucky to draw the thoughtful Circuit Court Judge Richard Curry for the trial. In the meantime, the dual directors' media campaign was not winning them any friends in court, as Judge Curry's remarks at a pretrial hearing attest:

> I don't understand why the lawyers don't stuff gags in their clients' mouths, notwithstanding the prestige of their clients; the, quote, prestige of their clients, because that hasn't been established yet on this record. I think it's disgraceful for men of public importance who are selected to run a foundation like this that was meant to benefit not only individuals but worthy organizations worldwide, that they would conduct their activities in the face of this litigation this way.

Today, most of the directors won't speak to the press, and several of my telephone calls went unreturned. As foundation flack Ted Hearne observes, "Things got pretty murked up" by the media during the MacArthur suit. Not, however, as murked up as they might have got.

In March of 1984, Rod MacArthur was told that he was suffering from pancreatic cancer, the disease that killed his father, and had at most a year to live. Although they certainly hadn't wished for MacArthur's death, this was a break for the Chicago regulars. MacArthur had little chance of seeing his suit through to completion, and under Illinois law only a director, the state attorney general or the Federal government has standing to bring suit against a charitable trust. Thus, barring an abrupt about-face by another director, Illinois Attorney General Neil Hartigan or the Treasury Department, MacArthur's charges would die with him.

On learning of his illness, MacArthur amended his charges. While earlier versions of the complaint had named all the directors except Jerome Wiesner, Edward Levi and William Simon (who resigned in 1981) as defendants, his final version sought only the liquidation of the foundation and the distribution of its assets among other charitable organizations. He said he thought the maneuver would end the pretrial delay. Seeing the futility of the effort, MacArthur withdrew the suit, which already had cost him $1 million, a few weeks before his death, on December 15, 1984. Perhaps he had hoped the action would at least encourage the board to adopt reforms like those he had proposed in 1979, including a cap on directors' fees, a mandatory retirement age (Paul Doolen was 79; Kirby and Gaylord Freeman both 74) and a policy prohibiting conflicts of interest. It didn't.

In June of this year similar proposals were presented to the board. It rejected a cap on fees, but recently Corbally predicted that directors' compensation will fall in the coming years, as more of the foundation's business is handled by a professional staff. A cap is out of the question, however. "I still want the freedom to contact a Jonas Salk" to develop a project, he said. Although the board declined to impose an age limit at its June meeting, Corbally reported, it did adopt a resolution setting a ten-year limit on board membership. Because the measure does not apply retroactively, the seats of directors Kirby and Ewing, for instance, will be safeguarded through 1995, by which time they will have served seventeen profitable years. Kirby will be 85. "For our board," chuckled the 61-year-old Corbally, "I am a youngster."

In response to a formal request by MacArthur, the board appointed a special litigation committee to investigate his charges, headed by a new director, Weston Christopherson, then the president of Jewel Companies. Joining Christopherson on the board and on the committee was former U.S. Secretary of Education Shirley M. Hufstedler. One year later the committee has yet to make a report. Of its five original members, two (Levi and Doolen) have resigned from the foundation and have not been replaced. Christopherson, considered a straight arrow by foundation employees, recently announced that he will resign to take a post with the Northern Trust Company in Chicago. Ted Hearne said that Christopherson's departure was prompted by the board's determination that his holding both posts would create a potential conflict of interest. According to Corbally, however, Christopherson's advisers thought the bank's interest in obtaining foundation accounts would create the conflict. "Wes was fine with us," Corbally said. Another source said Christopherson's imminent departure can be linked to disagreements between him and Kirby. "They hate each other," the source said.

Friends in High Places

In 1980, three years before the I.R.S. deadline for divestiture of the foundation's Bankers Life holdings, the directors asked Congress for an extension. The call was in, but it wasn't until ten months before the five-year grace period expired that it was acted upon. On February 23, S. 562 was introduced by Illinois Senators Charles Percy and Alan Dixon. On March 9, a companion bill was introduced in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

House by Representatives Marty Russo of Illinois and Barber Conable of New York.

The bill accepted in conference took the form of an amendment to the Tax Reform Act of 1984, authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to grant extensions of the statutory period within which private foundations must dispose of their active (or "excess") business holdings. The measure was tailor-made for the foundation. As Illinois Representative Dan Rostenkowski, chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, noted in the *Congressional Record* for June 27, 1984, shortly before the amendment would be signed into law by President Reagan, "The particular situation that gave rise to this provision involves the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation of Chicago, Illinois." Or as Senator Robert Dole succinctly put it in the record the same day, "This helps the MacArthur Foundation."

Dole's remark was an understatement, for without the exemption, the foundation faced the loss of its charitable status and up to $500 million in I.R.S. penalties, as well as exposure of its less-than-sterling mode of operation.

The legislation called on the foundation to avow that it had made "good faith" efforts to divest its active business assets. Directors of the foundation gave testimony to that effect before Congressional committees and the Treasury Department. Yet a careful review of the foundation's conduct between 1978 and 1984 indicates that they could not honestly make such a claim. Through misrepresentation and omission of relevant facts, the foundation misled Congress and Treasury in the following ways:

§ It repeatedly told them that it was required to divest $2 billion in assets, including its insurance business and more than $1 billion worth of real estate holdings. In fact, the foundation was required to sell only its insurance company and other relatively minor active operations worth less than half of its total assets. (Bankers Life ultimately was sold for $382 million.) Its extensive real estate holdings, considered "passive assets" under the law, did not have to be sold. This misrepresentation made the sale appear more difficult than it actually was.

§ At the same time that the foundation was telling legislators that its excess holdings amounted to $2 billion, it informed the I.R.S. that, as of December 31, 1982, its total assets had a fair market value of only $950 million. At no time did the foundation reveal the lower figure or its practice of maintaining twin valuations and understating its total assets so as to reduce the amount it had to give away under the minimum distribution requirement.

§ The foundation claimed that it diligently had sought to sell its excess holdings as soon as possible but failed because of factors beyond its control: the size of its holdings, the diversity of its real estate (an irrelevant consideration, as noted), the economic downturn and the nature of its insurance operation. In an August 9, 1982, letter to Rostenkowski, directors Kirby and Freeman and a board attorney, Thomas Chomicz, stated that the foundation had "no prospective purchaser for all of the active business and apparently no prospect for the insurance business." Yet a contemporaneous report presented to the board by the finance committee said that there was "one insurance company seriously interested in buying Bankers' insurance operations." And a report by that committee two months earlier stated that there were at least two and possibly three prospective purchasers.

§ The foundation also did not report the arrangements that gave the controlling directors an incentive to delay the sale of Bankers Life (and in the case of Ewing's golden parachute, a reason to hasten it despite the disadvantageous terms of the offer) and that enriched them out of all proportion to the work they were performing. Nor did it report the mismanagement of Bankers Life, which at one point decreased the company's fair market value by $200 million and, according to its own advisers, scared away numerous prospective investors through "material revisions in the way it does business." Finally, the foundation never addressed the perplexing insistence that all properties had to be sold together and the decision to negotiate exclusively with one company during the last four months before the grace period's expiration.

One gaping hole in foundation officials' presentation to Congress emerged in 1983, while negotiations for the sale of Bankers Life to the First Winthrop Corporation were in progress. Testifying before a Congressional subcommittee in June of that year, Corbally had stated:

> Any sale by November 30, 1983 [the I.R.S. deadline], will in all probability have to take place on a distress sale basis. At this juncture, it also appears that potential purchasers are entertaining hopes that the deadline will lead to a distress sale at substantially below market prices. In a situation where a foundation has exhausted all avenues to achieve divestiture during the five-year period, an extension should be granted to permit a sale at fair market values.

Although it could hardly be said that the foundation had exhausted all avenues to achieve divestiture during the five years granted, Corbally accurately described the kind of sale that could be expected by the summer of 1983. Why, then, less than two months later, did it rush headlong into an agreement with Winthrop that could be characterized only as a distress sale? Shouldn't Corbally have later amended his testimony to include the vital information that just such a distress sale had been nixed by Morgan Stanley, an independent financial consultant, because the offer was unfair to the foundation?

Legal Oversight

Most troubling of all is the failure of Illinois Attorney General Hartigan to correct testimony he gave on the foundation's behalf in similar statements to the Senate Finance Committee's Subcommittee on Taxation and Debt Management and the House Ways and Means Committee's Subcommittee on Oversight. In a letter to the House dated June 3, 1983, Hartigan began by expressing his support for the divestiture requirement. But, he continued:

> In certain circumstances, relief from the divestiture rules would be appropriate. Such instances would include the situation where a private foundation has diligently throughout the entire five year period attempted to divest itself of its

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Are you one of us?

If you want to do work you adore and keep doing it long after others retire; if you threw out the old conventions on sex, sex roles and love, and are still creating your new ones; and if you want a politics that relies less on bureaucracy and more on people—then, chances are, you're one of us.

Why not find out? Take a look at the next issue of MOTHER JONES—for free.

MOTHER JONES is irreverent, bright, and bold. Like you, we haven't given up our dreams born in the 60's. But we know it takes innovative thinking and passionate commitment to translate them during the 80's.

Like you, we're on the prowl for new ideas. We find them, and we print them.

MOTHER JONES is your early warning system. We told you about: Bendectin and birth defects, years before the drug companies took it off the market . . . why there are steroids in your steak but not in Ronald Reagan's . . . the latest DES tragedy, DES sons . . . how laboratories that test your products have falsified or covered up data for years . . . the true story behind the Grenada invasion.

MOTHER JONES brings you people. After Tom Brokaw gave us a personal interview, he got into hot water with his boss at NBC . . . we profiled Geraldine Ferraro before she was nominated for Vice-President . . . In a MOTHER JONES interview Benigno Aquino assessed his chances of being assassinated just before he left on his fatal plane trip to the Philippines . . . Plus we've brought you West German peace activist Petra Kelly, science fiction writer Ursula LeGuin, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, the lost love letter of Emma Goldman, an interview with Yoko Ono.

"Perhaps a glass of water to wash down that incredible bunch of lies."

MOTHER JONES is on the cutting edge. We printed excerpts from The Color Purple, by Alice Walker, long before the book won a Pulitzer Prize . . . we've brought you Maxine Hong Kingston, Studs Terkel, Alice Adams, Kurt Vonnegut, Grace Paley, Edmund White. MOTHER JONES' award-winning, gutsy graphics have included works by Brad Holland, Sue Coe, Marshall Arisman, and international photographers like Sue Meisalas.

Bring MOTHER JONES into your life—the magazine that's as imaginative, as unpredictable and as bright as its readers.

Find out.

Start with a FREE copy.

Send me a free copy of **Mother Jones**. If I like the magazine I will pay you $12 (a 33% savings off the regular price) for a full year—nine more issues. If I decide not to subscribe for any reason, I'll just mark "cancel" on the bill and that's it—no further obligation.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ *Zip* _____

Add $3 per year, Canada; $4 per year foreign.

MOTHER JONES,
1886 Haymarket Square,
Marion, OH 43305 DL5NA

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

business holdings, but has been unable to do so. . . .

I am generally familiar with the efforts made by the directors to sell [the Bankers Life] shares. Their efforts have continued on an uninterrupted basis during the entire five year period. . . . despite their efforts, I understand that no purchaser has been found.

In my opinion [the exemption] is consistent with [the divestiture requirement], for it obligates a foundation to demonstrate to the satisfaction of the Secretary of the Treasury its good faith attempts to dispose of the prescribed [*sic*] ownership in active businesses.

From what we have seen of the foundation's lackadaisical efforts to sell Bankers Life, it is difficult to imagine on what information Hartigan based his assessment of "uninterrupted" diligence. Because he has refused to discuss his assertions with me, I can only speculate. Perhaps he relied on foundation officers' testimony before Congress and the Treasury Department. Or perhaps he was drawing on information provided by a former colleague, MacArthur/Bankers Life board member Gaylord Freeman. When he was a senior vice president of First National Bank of Chicago—from 1976 through 1982, during which period Bankers Life opened $600 million in accounts with First National—Hartigan had worked with Freeman, who was a director and former president of the bank. Records on file with the Illinois State Board of Elections show that Hartigan accepted $5,250 from First National's political action committee for his 1986 re-election bid.

It is also possible, of course, that at the time of his testimony, Hartigan was not aware of the directors' outrageous conduct; he did say he was only "generally familiar" with the sale efforts. But when he learned of it subsequently from the allegations in MacArthur's lawsuit, he had an obligation, as the state's highest legal officer, who is charged with monitoring charitable trusts in his state, to correct his testimony. When asked about Hartigan's failure to do so, Christine Rosso, chief of the Illinois Attorney General's charitable trusts division, replied, "That's a question that's going to have to go unanswered, because he doesn't want to talk about it." Rosso expressed surprise that anyone was still interested in the directors' conduct. "Lord knows they've been tried in the press already," she said. "Rod MacArthur raised good points, but whether they're actionable is another question."

Whether Rosso endorsed her boss's apparent decision to go easy on the foundation is another question as well. She reportedly suggested that MacArthur name the Illinois Attorney General in his suit to force the state into the case.

As a supporter of charitable giving, Hartigan might justify his failure to take legal action on the ground that assessing penalties against the foundation was not in the public interest. So might the Internal Revenue Service, which learned of the directors' derelictions of duty and subsequent misrepresentations in a November 9, 1984, letter from MacArthur's attorneys. Rather than take any action, the department guaranteed the foundation that the exemption would apply retroactively, half a year before it became law.

No one has proposed that the foundation be stripped of its assets. If that happened, they would probably end up in the Federal defense budget. The body of the trust shouldn't be destroyed because of a few bad actors. The assets should be protected and distributed as the law requires.

The directors do not deserve protection, however. Under the law, they could be required to make restitution of their excessive fees, to put them back in the public account. They could be held to answer for misrepresentations to Congress and the Internal Revenue Service. At a minimum, they could be asked to leave their posts on the board. Yet neither the Federal government nor the Illinois Attorney General has seen fit even to chastise them. With Rod MacArthur's death and the withdrawal of his suit, they breathed easier. Because government is unwilling to take white-collar greed and deceit seriously, their futures as high-priced leaders of a uniquely American institution are assured.

If John MacArthur were alive today, he might be palming a half-eaten sandwich from a stranger's airline tray and slipping it into his pocket for future reference. He did that sometimes. He might be exhorting his staff to moderation in all things, including greed. As he often did, he might be telling them: "It's okay to be a pig. Pigs get fed. But don't be a hog. Hogs get slaughtered." A rustic admonition, perhaps, but as MacArthur would have to agree, based on his former employees' example, one that does not always hold true. □

TROUBLE IN PALAU

Can the Island Stay Nuke Free?

ELLIN STEIN

Too many in the developed world, the Micronesian Islands still conjure up Gaugin-like images of a tranquil paradise far removed from the turmoil of postindustrial life. But the assassination this June of Haruo Remeliik, the first elected president of the Republic of Palau, was a sign of the rising tensions in the region.

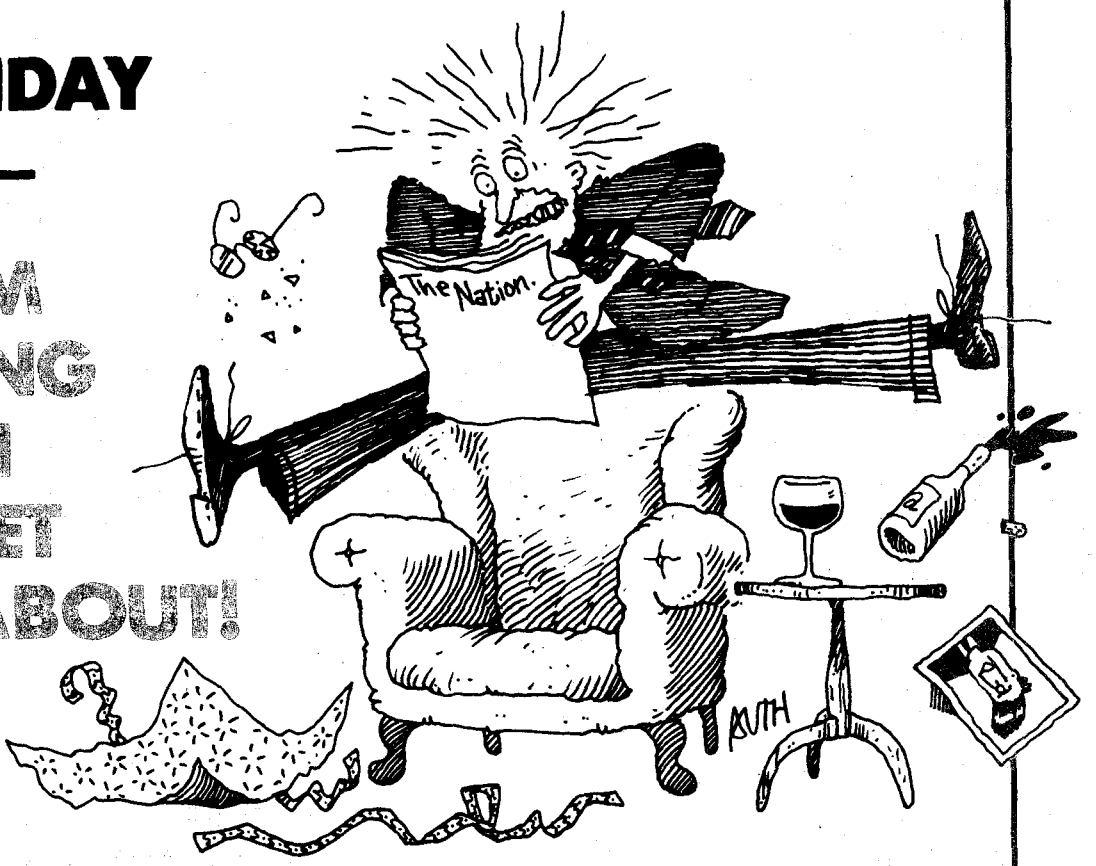
Like New Zealand, Palau is embroiled in a protracted wrangle with the United States over its right to remain nuclear free. But Palau has far more to lose by defying Washington. A U.N. strategic trust territory under U.S. administration since 1947, the island became a republic in 1981 and achieved a measure of legislative independence. But 90 percent of its national budget is still provided by the United States in the form of direct grants, and the territorial government is the largest employer. The United States has promised $1 billion in aid over fifty years if the islanders approve the Compact of Free Association, which would give Palau a murky legal status somewhere between territory and sovereign state. The compact gives it autonomy in domestic affairs and sovereignty over foreign affairs. Defense, however, would be controlled by the United States, which would

Ellin Stein is a journalist and video maker.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THIS HOLIDAY SEASON—

GIVE THEM SOMETHING THEY CAN REALLY GET EXCITED ABOUT!



Give a gift
Subscription
To *The Nation*

Granted, if they lean a little to the right they may blow a fuse. But if they don't believe the *contras* are freedom fighters, a gift subscription to *The Nation* will be a source of excitement and truth not just at holiday time but year round.

We'll send a card announcing your gift and we'll also see that the recipients stay excited for a full year (47 issues) of *The Nation*'s hard-facts reporting and no-nonsense opinion.

SPECIAL LOW HOLIDAY GIFT RATES!

$18.50
for the first gift
(more than 50% off the regular subscription price)

$16.00
for each additional gift
(a whopping 60% discount)

More than 50% off on all gift subscriptions!

1 year—47 issues
First gift—$18.50
Each additional gift—$16.00

YOUR NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

☐ Send gift card(s) to recipient(s).
Signed _____
☐ Send gift cards to me in time for holiday giving.

Please send gift subscriptions to:

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

NAME _____
ADDRESS _____
CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Please add $7 per year, Canada; $13 per year, other foreign countries. Payment in U.S. funds only.

For additional gifts attach list.

☐ Enclosed is $ _____ for _____ subscription(s).
Charge my: ☐ MASTERCARD ☐ VISA

Account # _____
Exp. Date

Signature _____

☐ Bill me later.

SEND TO: THE NATION, BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305.

MD546

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be allowed to use one-third of the island for airfields, guerrilla training sites and bases for Navy ships, including nuclear vessels. That demand conflicts with a provision in the Palauan Constitution prohibiting the introduction of nuclear materials into the islands and surrounding waters.

In 1979 and 1980 the Palauan government held three plebiscites on the nuclear-free provision, and each time it failed to obtain the 75 percent majority needed to eliminate it. In a February 1983 vote on the adoption of the compact, Question I (A), on the compact itself, passed; Question I (B), on revoking the controversial clause, did not, despite the $400,000 the United States spent on a campaign to "educate" the 14,000 islanders. A subsequent vote, in September 1984, produced the same result. In five separate elections in the past five years Palauans have expressed their desire to stay nuclear free.

President Remeliik, who helped draft the Constitution, was initially a strong supporter of self-determination, but once he took office he moderated his position and became more accommodating to U.S. interests, on the ground that nuclear-free status wasn't worth the loss of $1 billion in aid. During his second term, however, he announced his opposition to further referendums, saying that the people had spoken and the Constitution should be left alone.

His murder remains unsolved. Early press reports carried speculations that zealous opponents of the compact had killed him, but that theory is dubious because the opposition has little to gain from further destabilizing the country. Political unrest only increases the Palauans' sense of frustration, making them more amenable to the argument that an antinuclear stand is more trouble than it's worth. Also, Remeliik's successor might have proved to be more adept than he was at overcoming the present impasse on the compact.

An election to choose a new president was held in August. The early favorite had been Roman Tmetuchl, a firm advocate of Palauan sovereignty and reputedly the island's wealthiest man. He was backed by the antinuclear forces. But six weeks before the vote, Palauan police, aided by Federal Bureau of Investigation agents, arrested four young men, two of whom were related to Tmetuchl, and charged them with Remeliik's murder. The motive was alleged to be a clan-based grudge, so Tmetuchl was indirectly implicated. His viability as a candidate was destroyed, even though one week before the vote two of the suspects proved they had been out of the country at the time of the murder and charges against all four were dropped. Lazarus Salii, one of the Palauan representatives in the negotiations on the compact and a hard-line supporter of the U.S. position, became the new President.

Although settling clan disputes by violent means is not uncommon on the island, guns are rarely used, because of the strict laws against them. (Possession of a firearm is punishable by fifteen years in prison.) Indeed, killings of any kind are infrequent; in the past five years there have been fewer than ten murders.

Even if, as many Palauans hope, the compact issue is settled, there are other troubles in paradise. The unemployment rate is running at 20 percent, the influx of drugs from Southeast Asia is growing and the teen-age suicide rate is one of the highest in the world.

As the political situation in the Philippines becomes more volatile and the Nuclear Free Pacific Movement gains strength, the Reagan Administration's determination to preserve its nuclear access to Palau is hardening. For the sake of strategic interests, the United States may end up overriding the democratic principles it is ostensibly defending in this tiny island nation. □

Polygraphs

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

ject or sack whomever they please. Polygraph victims can almost never prove that an employer acted illegally. We didn't fire you because you're getting old and costing us too much, a company can argue; we fired you because the polygraph says you're a thief.

Don Blews, once a manager for a department store chain in the Carolinas, provided a glimpse into polygraph practices when he testified before a Senate Judiciary subcommittee in 1978. According to Blews, his district supervisor told him that blacks "just don't work out" and ordered him to dismiss two black women workers. Blews said that when he refused, the supervisor remarked, "We'll have to show you how our polygraph test works around here." The women were subsequently fired, after their test results indicated "a sign of a possibility of deceit." His bosses also turned down the only two blacks whom he had ever recommended for management trainee positions, again on the basis of the polygraph test. Others who lost their jobs at Blews's store included a woman who confessed that her boyfriend used to smoke marijuana, a woman who admitted that she occasionally suffered from migraines, an employee who said her heart condition made it unsafe for her to take the test and two high-school part-timers whom the polygraph examiner refused to fit into his schedule. Blews also testified that "the polygraph companies used by my employer apparently had a quota of employees they had to fire at every round of testing in order to show that the testing was accomplishing something and that the cost...was justified." Blews was fired after protesting against misuse of the test—but not before taking an examination himself and being accused of giving deceptive answers.

Besides using electronic inquests to discriminate against racial minorities, companies use them to spot deviants of all stripes. In 1977 workers at the Coors brewery struck, partly because they objected to the company's voyeurism. The polygraph agency employed by Coors asked job applicants these questions: What are your sexual preferences? How often do you change your underwear? Have you ever done anything with your wife that could be considered immoral? Are you a homosexual? Are you a Communist?

Daniel Jussim is a contributing editor to Civil Liberties, *the national newsletter of the American Civil Liberties Union.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Union organizers have also been targets. The National Labor Relations Board recently ruled on a case involving two waitresses who tried to organize the Shoney's restaurant chain in Georgia. One of them, Maria Sganga, was fired on the basis of information she revealed during the interview preceding a polygraph examination. The company said she admitted she had taken home some leftover potatoes and parsley, a violation of company rules even though she had her manager's permission. Patricia Burch, the other waitress, had refused to sign the test consent form, which in Georgia permits the examiner to inquire about a worker's finances and military service. She considered her finances her own business and didn't want to be questioned about the military because her husband was in the service. She offered to sign a revised consent form but was fired nonetheless, for actions her boss considered tantamount to refusing the polygraph test.

N.L.R.B. Judge Richard J. Linton ruled that Shoney's "discharged Sganga and Burch because of their union and other protected . . . activities," adding that the company "would not have ordered the polygraph tests in the absence of such activities." He ordered them reinstated with back pay.

In the course of the hearing, a director of operations for Shoney's testified that he uses the polygraph "to keep people honest," that is, as a deterrent to theft. Jay Harvey, director of legislation for the A.F.L.-C.I.O.'s food and allied service trades department, whose federated union members are often subjected to polygraph tests, says the practice is common: "There are two kinds of employers who use the polygraph. The kind who honestly have the mistaken belief that the machines work—that's the minority. The majority of employers know that the machine is not necessarily reliable," but believe, as Richard Nixon put it, that polygraphs "scare the hell out of people."

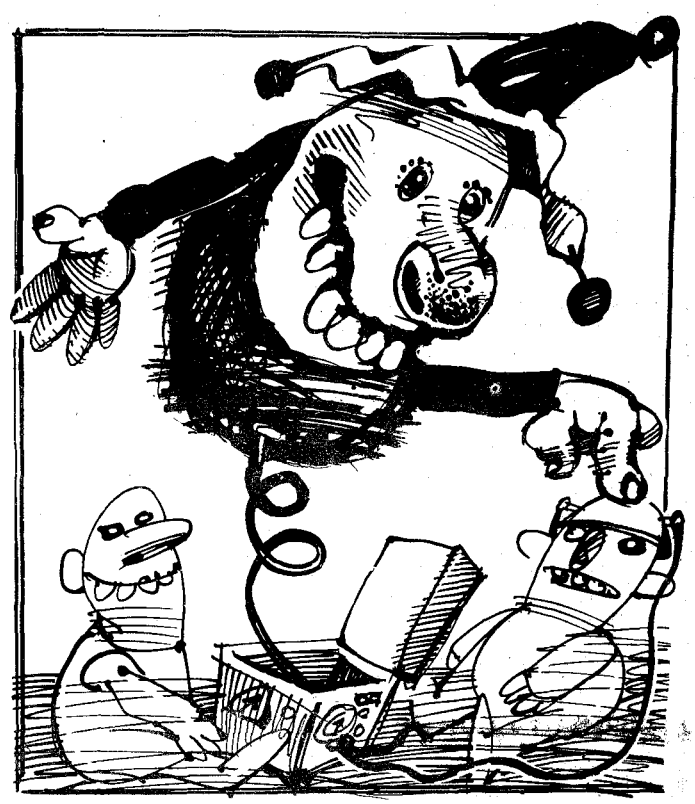
Even employers simply seeking job-related information from applicants may end up invading their workers' privacy. People interrogated while hooked up to a pneumatic chest tube, a blood-pressure cuff and a galvanic skin-response indicator often come away feeling humiliated and violated. Polygraph foes have thus dubbed the tests psychological rubber-hose treatments and mental strip searches. The New York State Attorney General's Office has charged several examiners with sexual harassment. Carlin Meyer, who heads the office's labor bureau, says the office receives at least ten polygraph-related complaints each week.

A recent court case in Chicago revealed that blacks may suffer the adverse consequences of polygraph errors more frequently than whites. In a discrimination suit brought in U.S. District Court, individuals seeking jobs as prison guards proved to the satisfaction of the court that blacks fail pre-employment polygraph tests more often than whites. Jon Bauer, a staff attorney for the Legal Action Center of New York, a public interest law firm that has litigated several polygraph cases, believes that the discrepancy may result from differences between blacks' and whites' physiological responses to stress, tensions between white examiners and black subjects, or prejudices that can enter into an examiner's evaluation, which relies as much on subjective impressions as on squiggles on a chart. In any case, says Bauer, "we should not tolerate a test that has a discriminatory effect on blacks when there is no adequate evidence that the test is valid."

Losing one's job or not getting hired because of failure to pass a polygraph test can have disastrous consequences. A toy-department manager who was fired by one company after flunking a test (he had high blood pressure, which can skew test results) was dismissed from his next job after six months, when his new boss learned of the previous exam. In effect, the man had been blackballed in the toy industry.

In another form of polygraph double jeopardy, job seekers who have failed a test as applicants at one company find themselves facing the same polygraph agency when they look for work with a different employer. When the agency reports that they previously failed the test, they are sent on their way.

More than twenty states and the District of Columbia have passed legislation limiting polygraph use by private employers. All of the laws prohibit companies from "requiring" the tests, but ten states permit firms to "request" that individuals take them. Violations are considered a misdemeanor and generally punished with a small fine. Employers seeking to skirt the laws have several options. Large chain stores in regulated states can hire employees in an adjacent state that has no polygraph statute and then transfer them to the regulated state. And employer pressure in "request" states can easily make workers feel that they have no choice but to take the test. Finally, some companies simply ignore the law and pay the fine if they get caught. Some critics estimate that as many as 59,000 workers per year are denied employment either because they refuse



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NATION REPRINTS

K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew And When We Knew It

Published on the eve of the first anniversary of the downing of Korean Air Lines Flight 007, this issue raises serious questions about the U.S. role in the tragedy. After a year of thorough research, author David Pearson concludes that U.S. authorities at the highest level knew the airliner was off course much earlier than they have admitted, and that the questions raised by the official versions of the story can only be resolved by a Congressional inquiry. *(August 18/25, 1984)*

K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions

This issue brings our 1984 report up to date. With contributions by David Pearson, John Keppel and David Corn, it is the culmination of an intensive investigation. The authors analyze new Japanese radar data, discuss a Nation Institute–sponsored review, by aviation experts, of the final airline transmission and describe the government's efforts to obstruct investigation. *(August 17/24, 1985)*

Central America

Appearing just after the release of the controversial Kissinger report, the special issue on Central America offered a strong refutation of the Administration's views. The arguments still hold. Highlighted by Walter LaFeber's overview, William LeoGrande's analysis of the domestic political fallout and Peter Davis's compelling firsthand report on the Nicaraguan revolution today, the issue is one of the most urgent, informative and important in *The Nation*'s history. *(January 28, 1984)*

Many Bhopals: Technology Out of Control

Robert Engler reveals that the dangerous dependence on pesticides and the movement away from people-intensive agriculture results from corporate profit-making strategies. In addition, he shows that the Bhopal disaster is one of countless poisonings occurring each year, here and in the Third World, under an irresponsible scientific-corporate elite. *(April 27, 1985)*

The Education Wars

Teachers, education watchers, journalists and scholars join forces to retake much of the ground recently occupied by Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education. With its healthy mix of policy issues and practical matters, "The Education Wars" is indispensable to anyone with a stake in the continuing battle over our schools. *(May 25, 1985)*

Reflections on a Glass House: The U.N. at 40

On the fortieth birthday of the United Nations, nine scholars and activists provide an examination of the U.N.'s achievements and failures. They analyze the history of U.S. participation in the United Nations and assess the organization's role in disarmament, Middle East negotiations and in relations between the developed countries and the Third World. The issue serves as a much-needed rebuttal to the arguments of would-be U.N.-bashers. *(September 21, 1985)*

NATION SPECIAL ISSUES ARE EXCELLENT FOR CLASSROOM USE.

REPRINTS (each title)	Qty.	Name	Total
1-9: $3.00 ea.			
10-49: $2.00 ea.			
50-99: $1.50 ea.			
100-249: $1.25 ea.			
250 or more: $1.00 ea.			

N.Y. residents add appropriate sales tax_____

Total Enclosed_____

SEND TO:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Mail check or money order to Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. Prepayment is required. (U.S. currency only.) Foreign orders add 33%. All reprint sales are final.

NR8546

to take the test or because of inaccuracies.

Because most state regulations are toothless, polygraph foes are pushing for Federal legislation prohibiting such tests. The Polygraph Protection Act of 1985, which would effectively ban the instrument in the private sector, is scheduled for a floor vote in the House before Christmas. Co-sponsored by 164 representatives, the bill has received strong support from the A.F.L.-C.I.O. Unlike earlier polygraph bills, which got bogged down in arguments over the constitutional right to privacy, H.R. 1524 is couched solely in terms of employment opportunity. According to labor lobbyist Jay Harvey, the bill will pass because "the American people don't like the test" and "there aren't too many [in Congress] who want to say that they advocate polygraphs." The bill's sponsor, Pat Williams, is also confident of passage. Antipolygraph sentiment runs the ideological gamut: Jack Kemp supports H.R. 1524, and Orrin Hatch and Edward Kennedy jointly introduced the Senate version, S. 1815.

The polygraph industry's answer to the proposed ban is a Federal licensing law which would set standards for examiners. That the industry favors that approach is not surprising, since use of the machine is more widespread in the twenty-six states that have licensing laws than in states having no polygraph statutes. The fact that Shoney's is in Georgia, a licensing state, should make legislators wary of the polygraph lobby's arguments. If every examiner had the integrity of a Boy Scout, the problems inherent in the technology of the polygraph would not go away.

A number of big companies, including J.C. Penney, Sears Roebuck & Company, I.B.M. and General Electric, don't use the polygraph. At companies that do, workers have some defenses against it, even without Federal legislation. Some unions protect their members, either by winning contract provisions forbidding the test or by intervening to stop an employer from administering the examination. And workers ill treated by polygraph testing have filed a variety of civil suits, invoking state polygraph laws, Federal and state fair-credit reporting laws and such legal principles as malpractice, discrimination and defamation. A number of plaintiffs have received awards in the six figures. In 1982 an assistant manager in a Zayre department store in Florida received $250,000 as compensation for being fired under what the court described as "circumstances implying that he had been guilty of a felony." He had failed a lie detector test two years earlier and was dismissed for allegedly stealing $500 from the store. But after he left, the thefts continued, and eventually the culprit—who had passed the test—was discovered. The man sued Zayre for defamation, and the company that administered the test for negligence.

Unfortunately, invasion of workers' privacy and unfair denial of employment would not end with the banning of the polygraph. Bosses today have a battery of tests at their disposal that evaluate urine, handwriting or personality. Some who have been forced to abandon the polygraph have turned to written "honesty tests." If polygraphs are outlawed, workers will no doubt be faced with the question, Have you stopped ripping off the company? □

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Mean to Be Free

EDWARD HIRSCH

COLLECTED POEMS. *By Robert Hayden. Edited by Frederick Glaysher. Liveright. 205 pp. $14.95. Paper $6.95.*

In "American Journal," the last poem in this collection, Robert Hayden—who once said that "nothing human is foreign to me"—wryly assumes the voice of an extraterrestrial observer reporting on a "baffling/multi people," a country of charming and enlightened savages, "brash newcomers lately sprung up in our galaxy." The engaged yet alienated observer was a fitting persona for a man who always identified with the figure of the outsider and who often referred to himself as an "alien at home." I once saw a documentary on Hayden which showed him moving through his old neighborhood on Detroit's east side, talking about his past and pointing out the familiar landmarks of his childhood. The trouble was that few of those landmarks remained. A warehouse had replaced the house where he was born and, across the street, a parking lot and power plant stood in place of the house where he was raised. As Hayden paused there—gentle, nearsighted, bundled up against the bleak January afternoon—it was easy to understand why displacement was a central poetic subject of his. Because no single place was home for him, every place was home.

And yet it is also revealing that Hayden's alien stand-in observes and contemplates not the entire earth but only the portion of it called America, a place which is, as he says, "as much a problem in metaphysics as/it is a nation." For Hayden, America represented "a kind of microcosm," a heterogeneous new world working out an emblematic destiny. He was repelled by our "strangering" racial distinctions but intensely attracted to our ideal of freedom and, like his alien ethnographer, he spent much of his intellectual energy trying to penetrate and name some American "essence" or "quiddity." However internationalist he was in outlook, his life's work makes clear that he was an American poet, deeply engaged by the topography of American myth in his efforts to illuminate the American black experience. He read American history as a long, tortuous struggle in psychic evolution, an exercise in humanity. An alien at home, he nonetheless contended with America as the place where "we must go on struggling to be human." His *Collected Poems* should become one of our exemplary poetic texts.

Scrupulously and unobtrusively edited by Frederick Glaysher, Hayden's *Collected Poems* brings together work from nine books written over more than forty years. His first volume, *Heart-Shape in the Dust*, published in 1940, and his two pamphlets, *The Lion and the Archer* (1948) and *Figure of Time: Poems* (1955), are poorly represented here because he came to feel they poorly represented him. He considered his early poems "'prentice pieces" and only a limited number survived for publication in his first mature volumes, *A Ballad of Remembrance* (1962) and *Selected Poems* (1966). Hayden's early work dutifully followed the themes and forms of the Harlem Renaissance and relied heavily on his experience as a folklore researcher for the Detroit branch of the Federal Writers' Project in the late 1930s. As his work progressed, he began to shed his first poetic models: Edna St. Vincent Millay, Carl Sandburg, Langston Hughes and, most important, Countee Cullen. Slowly he developed a consciously modernist style, a type of tersely written symbolic lyric, often with an Afro-American inflection, that was all his own.

By the time of *A Ballad of Remembrance*, which starts off the *Collected Poems*, Hayden had already developed his characteristic style: "meditative, ironic, richly human," as he wrote of Mark Van Doren. He was a "romantic realist," a formal lyricist with a feeling for the baroque, a symbolist poet who distrusted external reality but nonetheless felt compelled to grapple with history. Like his mentor Auden, with whom he studied, Hayden's work is a little anthology of poetic forms, though in general he favored two types over others: the spare, well-chiseled, "objective" lyric and the long, fragmentary, collage-like history poem. Hayden was never prolific and his *Collected Poems* is not a long book—in addition to *A Ballad of Remembrance*, it consists of *Words in the Mourning Time*, *The Night-Blooming Cereus*, *Angle of Ascent* and *American Journal*. And yet it has a profound and passionate scope. Every one of its poems is meticulously crafted.

At the time of his death in 1980, Hayden, who was a professor of English at the University of Michigan and the first black consultant on poetry to the Library of Congress, had finally begun to receive the recognition he deserved. But most of his writing life was spent in relative obscurity. As Michael Harper recalls in a recent special issue of *Obsidian*, Hayden often thought of himself as the "best *unknown* American poet in the country," and used to add: "I'm in trouble with the Afro-Americans *also*." He meant by this that during the 1960s, when he was teaching at Fisk University, he was frequently attacked for not being "black" enough, for writing in traditional Western forms and for privileging poetry over race. Hayden followed the lead of Countee Cullen and insisted, sometimes at considerable personal cost, that the Afro-American poet ought to be considered and judged first of all as a poet. He thought of Afro-American poetry as part of American literature, and he believed the poet was an individual maker, bound by his own conscience, and not a sociologist. All of Hayden's poems are alive with the experience of a black American, but he was determined to bridge the wide chasm of race.

Freedom is the great subject of Hayden's work, his poetic touchstone. He considered the need for freedom a constant beyond history—"the deep immortal human wish,/the timeless will," as he said in "Middle Passage"—but understood that the struggle for freedom takes place inside history. In a number of long poems dealing with nineteenth-century America (which he once planned as a unified series to be called *The Black Spear*) Hayden rediscovered and celebrated a group of individual heroes, primarily blacks, who ferociously opposed slavery: Sojourner Truth, who "comes walking barefoot/out of slavery"; Cinquez, who led the successful slave rebellion on the

---

Edward Hirsch is the author of For the Sleepwalkers *(Alfred A. Knopf); his new book of poems,* Wild Gratitude, *will be published by Knopf in January.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Amistad; Harriet Tubman, who escaped from slavery and then became one of the most spectacular agents of the underground railroad, continually making the hard journey from "Can't to Can"; Nat Turner; John Brown; and, of course, Frederick Douglass. Hayden's characteristic method in these poems is the collage, a form which works by the ironic juxtaposition of different voices. In "Middle Passage," for example, he mixes his own descriptive commentary with the voices of slave traders, hymn singers and even the dead. So, too, he splices together and adapts descriptions from journal entries, ships' logs, depositions and the eyewitness accounts of traders. These formal innovations give his history poems an uncanny ethnographic basis, a profound sense of the human suffering caused by slavery.

Like Harriet Tubman, all Hayden's heroes "Mean mean mean to be free," and lead others to freedom. Their legacy is the lives their lives insure: the nameless slaves escaping to freedom in "Runagate Runagate," the "many lives" transfigured in "Middle Passage." This idea is resoundingly expressed in Hayden's sonnet to Frederick Douglass, which begins,

> When it is finally ours, this freedom,
> this liberty, this beautiful
> and terrible thing, needful to man as
> air,
> usable as earth. . .

and concludes by affirming that Douglass will be remembered

> not with statues' rhetoric,
> not with legends and poems and wreaths
> of bronze alone,
> but with the lives grown out of his life,
> the lives
> fleshing his dream of the beautiful,
> needful thing.

Hayden's fine rhetorical poem, reminiscent of Hopkins's sonnet "That Nature Is a Heraclitean Fire," asserts that what matters is not freedom for the self alone but the communal realization of the dream. In this sense he is a utopian poet.

Hayden's historical and public poems are counterbalanced by personal lyrics like "Homage to the Empress of the Blues," "Mourning Poem for the Queen of Sunday," "'Summertime and the Living . . . ,'" "The Rabbi" and, my personal favorites, "The Whipping" and "Those Winter Sundays." Written at various times during his life, these poems rely on childhood experiences in a Detroit slum ironically known as Paradise Valley. Hayden refused to sentimentalize his past—as a child growing up his primary desire was to escape the world that surrounded him, and he also determined to remember it accurately. He was born Asa Sheffey but raised as Robert Hayden (a duality that haunted him) and he knew both his natural and foster parents. He was bound to his childhood as the foster son of poor working-class people and remained committed to what he liked to call "folk" people: poor, uneducated, dignified, all those who quietly fulfilled "love's austere and lonely offices."

There is a certain detachment even in Hayden's most personal lyrics, a slight distancing of what he calls "the long warfare with self/with God." He once said that "Reticence has its esthetic values, too," and his typical method was to exteriorize and objectify the past by speaking about it in the third person, or by using the disguise of a persona. In a sense he was like the diver in the opening lyric of the *Collected Poems*: a man who needed to keep control as he moved down into the oceanic depths, who longed to fling aside his mask and be done forever with the "vain complexity" of the self but continually managed to pull himself away from the silenced wreck and re-commence "the measured rise." There is a muted but powerful longing for transcendence in Hayden's work, and the diver is close kin to the figure of the old man with bloodstained wings in "For a Young Artist," who begins sprawled out in a pigsty but ends by somehow managing to fly again, "the angle of ascent/achieved." Both the diver and the old man are figures of the triumphant artist. □

Bewitched

PETER PRINGLE

STAR WARRIORS: A Penetrating Look Into the Lives of the Young Scientists Behind Our Space Age Weaponry. *By William J. Broad. Simon & Schuster. 220 pp. $16.95.*

Nuclear physicists can be so dazzling in their mastery of figures and formulas that we tend to believe they can command nature in all its manifestations. We have marveled at their grand visions—from the terrifying power of nuclear weapons to the ultimate promise of electricity too cheap to meter—and, as often as not, we have been seduced into paying huge sums to research and develop their ideas. A few have worked; many have not.

In the magic of the moment of invention it's easy to forget that the physicists and their ideas come cheap—actually, ludicrously cheap—in relation to their products. Remember the Manhattan Project. The bill for working out the blackboard theories that led to the first atomic explosion was paid in modest sums of $100,000. The bill for buying the machines, building the factories and paying the engineers—the people who actually made the bomb—came to more than $2 billion.

So it is with Star Wars. The cost of keeping young physicists laboring through the night on the theory of space weaponry is minuscule compared with the estimated $1,000 billion that it would cost to build an operational S.D.I. But there is also an important difference between the Manhattan Project and Star Wars. The scientists who worked on the atom bomb at the Los Alamos laboratory in the 1940s were never in any real doubt, once they had done their sums, that a bomb of enormous explosive power could be produced. They knew that its military effectiveness would be unrivaled; that the first side to make such a bomb would win the war.

By contrast, most of the young physicists at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory in California have markedly less confidence in their product, as William Broad, a *New York Times* science writer, found out when he took his timely peek into their secret world. Contrary to what we have been told by the Star Wars backers, the people who are actually designing the weapons say there is no such thing as an impenetrable shield. Listen to Livermore physicist Peter Hagelstein, aged 29, creator of the nuclear X-ray laser: "Defense is clearly interesting and feasible. . . .But it wouldn't keep cities from being obliterated." Even if Hagelstein and his coworkers can produce beams of light or X-rays powerful and accurate enough to shoot down incoming missiles, they say, some of the missiles are bound to get through because the engineers don't

Peter Pringle is a Washington correspondent of the London Observer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

know how to design a system for controlling space weapons so that all the targets will be shot down.

The Livermore physicists have other important things to say, too. According to them, the United States is light-years ahead of the Soviet Union in the development of the computer technology required for Star Wars. That is not to say the Russians couldn't catch up; they could. But the race is more uneven than the Star Wars zealots would have us believe. And, lest we forget, we are not, as we were in 1940, in a race to end the war. We are supposed to be engaged in an effort to maintain peace.

In the midst of all the doubts and uncertainties about Star Wars, Ronald Reagan has persuaded a large number of Americans to take his dream seriously, as though they were under some sort of spell. Indeed, as David Lilienthal, the first chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, used to say, the atom has us "bewitched": "So greatly did it transcend the ordinary affairs of men that we shut it out of those affairs altogether; or rather tried to create a separate world, the world of the atom."

The capacity of the atomic scientists—and the politicians who back them—for self-delusion has always been extraordinary. It's hard to believe now that physicists once forecast that the atom would be able to perform a host of wonderful tricks, like making fruit stay fresh longer through irradiation, diverting rivers through "peaceful" nuclear explosions, supplying the power for airplanes. The young Livermore scientists are on a similar crusade. "In a very American way," writes Broad, "[the scientists] at Livermore see the future as a broad sweep of unlimited technical opportunity to be shaped solely by their individual talents and hard work."

The center of that separate world used to be Los Alamos. Today it is Livermore, where Broad found some of the young geniuses—well, yes—bewitched. Like Larry West, aged 28, nuclear weapons designer: "We're working on weapons of life, ones that will save people from weapons of death." What about the people who happen to be the targets of the missiles that get through the Star Wars net? Never mind, say the young physicists. Have faith. Larry West again: "They [the critics] can say a defensive shield will never work. But that's the oldest argument in the world. You never know until you try."

From its inception, the Star Wars project has been marvelous scientific and political propaganda; it excites the physicists, but it also tickles the fancy of the common man. It has something for everyone. It makes politicians stand tall and lines the pockets of big business but, above all, it satisfies national pride. Being first with a new technology is what belonging to a superpower is all about; for many Americans, it's about beating the Russians.

Americans have never really recovered from the deep psychological blow of being beaten into space by the Russians. When Sputnik bleeped its way around the earth for the first time on October 4, 1957, the world gawked incredulously. In America, the bitter memories linger. "It was Us versus Them," wrote a columnist in *The Washington Post* on Sputnik's twenty-fifth anniversary. "It was the American way of life, not to mention tail fins, Wrigley's Spearmint gum, Wednesday night bowling and attending the church of your choice, going against the godless horde."

President Reagan knows only too well how to capitalize on such fears. He has said many times that if we don't go ahead with our Star Wars weapons the Russians will—even though they say they don't want to. It is no coincidence that a healthy mistrust of the Russians is part of the Livermore entrance exam. Says Rod Hyde, aged 31, one-time math prodigy: "Working here is fine by me because I don't trust the Soviets worth beans. . . . I can't see how you could work on nuclear weapons if you didn't care about the Soviets taking over. At least for me, I have to be anti-Soviet first. I don't give a shit what they do to their own people."

Like their guru, Edward Teller, the Livermore boys see themselves in a lone fight with the Russians. Broad often catches them late at night with their favorite tipple of Coca-Cola and ice cream, and the result is the kind of *vérité* found in Robert Scheer's account of his meetings with the Reaganite nuclear war policy-makers, *With Enough Shovels: Reagan, Bush & Nuclear War.* Scheer's format, basically a series of interviews, restricted his scope; there was almost no political or institutional analysis in his book. Broad's format, and limitations, are the same. *Star Warriors* can never be more than a snapshot of the unseemly Reaganite scramble for more nuclear weapons. But, as such, it

Good Life, Good Death Through Control and Choice

HEMLOCK SOCIETY

Supporting the option of voluntary euthansia (or self-deliverance) for the terminally ill.

★★★★★★★

Let Me Die Before I Wake

By Derek Humphry $10.00

The only guide to voluntary euthanasia in America. Outlines methods.

Mail order price: $7.00 (includes shipping)

★★★★★★★

Join the Hemlock Society, help break taboos, change antique laws.

Hemlock Quarterly.

Goes with membership.

$20.00 ($15 Seniors)

The best informed newsletter on issues affecting euthanasia.

Living Will & Durable Power of Attorney for Health Care supplied free on receipt of stamped, self-addressed envelope. 39 cent stamp.

HEMLOCK SOCIETY

Non-profit

P.O. Box 66218, Los Angeles, CA 90066

(213) 391-1871

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Alexander Cockburn on THE PRESS.

Andrew Kopkind on THE CULTURE WARS.

Stephen F. Cohen on THE SOVIET UNION.

Christopher Hitchens on WASHINGTON.

Bird and Holland on GLOBAL POLITICS.

Calvin Trillin on UNCIVIL LIBERTIES.

The voices of dissent speak out in THE NATION.

The Reagan Administration is not funny; what it's doing to the country, and the world, is very serious. The voices of dissent must speak out. And the best place to hear them is in *The Nation*.

The Nation has been questioning the abuses of power for 119 years. And there has never been a greater need for it than now. *The Nation* conducts its own investigations, reports the kind of news Jeane Kirkpatrick and Jerry Falwell don't release through the national wire services, and serves as the forum for the leading voices of dissent on the critical issues of our time.

If you think these voices are important, join your voice to theirs and subscribe to *The Nation*. There's a reduced introductory rate for you.

Add your voice to ours.
Special Introductory Rate For New Subscribers.

THE NATION
BOX 1953, MARION, OH 43305

YES!!! Send me 24 issues of *The Nation* for $15, a savings of 50 percent off the newsstand price. I understand that I may cancel at any time and receive a refund for all unmailed copies.

☐ Double my savings. Send a full year for $28.
☐ My payment is enclosed—reward me with FOUR FREE ADDITIONAL ISSUES!
☐ Please bill me later.

NAME (PLEASE PRINT)

ADDRESS

CITY STATE ZIP

Add: Canada and Mexico: $3.50/24 issues, $7/one year; Other Foreign: $6.50/24 issues, $13/one year. Subscriptions payable in equivalent U.S. funds. D546

adds an important dimension to what we already know: When Teller took his Star Wars dream to the White House in 1982, he presented Ronald Reagan, who knew next to nothing of nuclear matters, with a beguiling, untested plan. The theory of Star Wars was easy to grasp, much easier than grappling with an unratified SALT II treaty and a team of national security advisers divided on arms control. Wily politician that he is, Reagan opted for Star Wars and a short working day. If there was a price to pay, others could pick up the tab later. □

The Middle Ground

RICHARD J. BARNET

THE POLITICS OF EUROMISSILES: Europe's Role in America's World. *By Diana Johnstone. Verso/Schocken. 218 pp. $24. Paper $6.95.*

For nine years Diana Johnstone has been writing lucid, often brilliant reports from Europe for *In These Times*. In an era when the major U.S. newspapers treat the Continent like the stock market—the peace movement is up! the peace movement is down!—she brings rare gifts to her reporting: an intimate knowledge of political culture, conversance with several European languages and a sense of history. Because both the United States and Europe have been undergoing profound transformation during the past decade, her perceptive observations on the evolving relationship between what used to be called the two pillars of the free world could not come at a better time.

The Politics of Euromissiles is a close look at the maneuvers on both sides of the Atlantic that accompanied the deployment of U.S. Pershing 2 and cruise missiles in Europe. But it is much more than that. Johnstone uses the missile drama to explore a range of issues which will survive the new generation of weaponry. She understands the missiles as they should be understood: as symbols and symptoms of profound political problems.

The Reagan Administration advertises the missile affair as its greatest victory. A high government official has stated that virtually all the Administration's decisions in its first four years were subordinated to the great task of getting the missiles into Europe against all opposition. Members of the Administration have also admitted privately that the decision to put easily targeted weapons in the backyards of people displaying what Irving Kristol calls "the social-democratic temper" was probably a mistake, since the West Germans, the Dutch, the Belgians and the rest, having lost the "will to self-assertion," cannot be saved from "Finlandization" even by the splendid new missiles.

Inoculation against flabbiness of will was, of course, the whole purpose of the missile deployment, which from the beginning was an exercise in political theater, not defense. There never was, never could be, a "Eurostrategic balance" to restore—the stated rationale for the deployment—because the Soviet Union has had all the cities of Europe under the gun since the late 1950s and is ready and able to match any new weapons deployed on the Continent. The script called for a great airlift of U.S. missiles to recapture inspiring moments of the past, like the Berlin Airlift of 1948. But by the time the weapons arrived, the drama was of a completely different order: Could the United States force the missiles into Europe against the will of a militant minority, a passive majority and a frenzied, incompetent Soviet propaganda campaign?

The United States triumphed. The peace movement was defeated. The Soviet military threat to Europe grew. Diana Johnstone's book helps us to understand not only why all this happened but what it means for the future of U.S.-European relations.

Johnstone reports well on the development of strategic thinking in the United States, particularly the rise of anti-NATO sentiment on the right. But her book's major contribution is to shed light on why "fragmented Europe" was unable to respond more creatively to the missile crisis. She is at her best describing the domestic political struggle waged over the missiles in West Germany and the eerie consensus in

Richard J. Barnet is a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies. His most recent book is The Alliance: America, Europe, Japan *(Simon & Schuster).*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

favor of deployment in France.

It was West German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt who supposedly asked for the American missiles to counter the Soviet SS-20s in a 1977 speech to the Institute for Strategic Studies in London. In fact, as Johnstone explains, Schmidt was merely calling for the inclusion of intermediate-range weapons in the SALT talks. The main topic of his speech was the "new dimensions of security":

> Schmidt's point was that economic "dimensions," such as full employment, adequate investment in the Third World and East-West trade, were as important to "security" as the purely military dimensions. It could be ironic, or it could be a brutal assertion of power, that out of this speech American leaders chose to hear only a call for more hardware.

But the Chancellor, who in 1958 likened "the decision to arm the two parts of our fatherland against each other with atomic bombs" to the bill granting Hitler dictatorial powers, was hardly blameless in the affair. Placating the Americans and heading off left-wing opposition in his own party took priority over his country's security. Eventually West Germans began to see the truth that Johnstone points out: the American strategy called for taking them hostage. The Russians could not strike at the new weapons "without taking out a substantial part of the German civilian population, thus committing a massive crime that could justify even more massive retaliation. From the American point of view, there could be no safer place to put their missiles."

Yet the missile affair is proving a Pyrrhic victory for the Reagan Administration. The pro-U.S. consensus on security matters that existed in Europe for thirty-five years has been irreparably broken. The Strategic Defense Initiative has revived European fears of the superpowers fighting their war on European soil, safe under their space-age shields. West German right-wingers like Franz-Josef Strauss reach out to East Germany and call for an integration of European armies. There is growing talk of French-German nuclear cooperation, which alarms the Russians. (Those in the Reagan Administration who value upsetting the Russians more than reducing the risk of nuclear war would apparently welcome another nuclear superpower, though for the moment French nationalism and the antinuclear sentiment on the Continent make such an alliance unlikely.) Just as the European peace movement existed before its discovery by *Time* and *Newsweek*, it has survived their loss of interest. Whether it will ever be as visible as in the past is unclear. But the issues it raised are now a permanent part of European politics.

Given the depth of European concern about the growing danger of war, the frustration and anger about American leadership in security matters and the obvious divergence of U.S. and European economic interests, why has the Continent been unable to develop a common peace strategy? Johnstone emphasizes the role of France in perpetuating the fragmentation of Europe. France, having been on the "right" side of the last war—if one overlooks a little backsliding in the Vichy days—has, unlike West Germany, no doubts about the righteousness of its patriotism. The nationalist consensus behind the post-war Maginot line, the *force de frappe*, is now firmly embraced by François Mitterrand's Socialist Party. Antinuclearism is associated with the weakness of will that led to the Munich Pact and the collapse of military resistance in 1940. According to the prevailing theory, the *force de frappe* will protect *la Patrie* while the war, if there is one, takes place where justice and history dictate that it should, in Germany. In a nation described by one of its president's advisers as a "monarchy with a time limit," keeping secrets from the public about nuclear matters is relatively easy. So it is not altogether surprising that France, alone among European nations, has virtually no peace movement.

What may seem surprising is that a French president should scold the West Germans for their pacifism and lack of nationalism, as Mitterrand did in a speech to the Bundestag in 1983. "Pacifism is Moscow's neutron bomb," warned former army Chief of Staff Gen. Jean Delaunay on another occasion, "because it destroys persons without damaging buildings." In the words of Pierre Lellouche, director for European security questions at the French International Relations Institute, the French fear that the *glacis*, the German shield against Soviet attack, would "collapse in an accommodation with Moscow." (It is more widely known in West Germany than in France that French short-range Pluton nuclear missiles, fired from their Continental bases, would explode in the Federal

Big Mules and Branchheads
James E. Folsom and Political Power in Alabama
Carl Grafton and Anne Permaloff

A passion for political power is at the core of this biography of "Big Jim" Folsom, the two-term Alabama governor who revolutionized state government by going directly to the "branchheads," the grassroots, to exhort the powerless to fight for their rights against the "Big Mules," the cotton planters and urban industrialists. *Illustrated* $27.50

The Punch and Judy Show
History, Tradition, and Meaning
Robert Leach

With over 125 illustrations, *The Punch and Judy Show* chronicles the history of Punch, the brash, bawdy, and subversive puppet who has, for more than two hundred years, entertained adult and juvenile audiences by rejecting all notions of social order and reveling in the glories of egotism and of a life led without respect for law, decency, or even the approach of death. $25.00

The University of Georgia Press
Athens, Georgia 30602

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

MUST READING!

KAL FLIGHT 007: THE HIDDEN STORY
by Oliver Clubb $16.95

"A superb book on the KAL flight . . . a significant contribution to the the public's understanding, if they will read it!" *J.W. Fulbright*

"I have reached the conclusion that Clubb's charges in his concise and splendid study are true. Only a full scale and impartial investigation by Congress would cause me to reconsider my conclusion . . . A bombshell of a book."
Richard Walton, Newsday

NICARAGUA: AMERICA'S NEW VIETNAM?
by Karl Grossman $10.95

"An objective and powerful indictment of the Reagan administration's policies in Nicaragua. A superb piece of work."
Congressman Robert Mrazek

"The most readable up-to-date book on Nicaragua yet."
Abbie Hoffman

"A contribution to the knowledge and sought for understanding of what is happening in Nicaragua today."
Barricada International

HERMANOS!
by William Herrick $10.95

"Herrick's novel of the Spanish Civil War surpasses that of Hemingway." *Best Sellers*

"A fine, original, intelligent, unsentimental novel of the lost illusions of the 20th century which never falters in its immediacy."
Publishers Weekly

THE LAST TO DIE
by William Herrick $16.95

A fictionalization of Che Guevara's last campaign in which "philosophy becomes poetry as Herrick's character relives the exaltation of combat for a cause, as well as failed campaigns, jealousies and betrayals."
Publishers Weekly

To order send cost of book plus $1.25 shipping charges for 1st title plus 50¢ for each additional title and your name and address to: **The Permanent Press/Second Chance Press, RD2 Noyac Road, Sag Harbor, N.Y. 11963.**

Republic.) The old worries about Rapallo and a re-united Germany free to swing from West to East and so to dominate the Continent are powerful in France. For the moment they preclude, as Mitterrand has stated in the strongest terms, a sharing of the *force de frappe*.

Meanwhile, like nuclear deterrence by the strong, the French brand of deterrence by the weak is losing its credibility. As François de Rose, former French Ambassador to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, points out, French deterrence rests to a degree on the "trigger" theory, that a "French nuclear response to any attack would set off a chain of events that would be likely to end with a nuclear exchange between the superpowers." But technological developments threaten what Johnstone calls the "let's you and him fight" strategy. Because it is in France's interest that any weapon it fires not be traceable to French soil, most of its nuclear missiles are on submarines. But now these can be tracked and identified more easily than they could be in the past.

The picture that emerges from this fascinating book is of a changing Europe which is still effectively stalemated by old nationalist rivalries and suspicions and by the immobilization of political forces in its various nations. Johnstone also puts considerable emphasis on the common military interests of Europe and the United States in the Third World. The United States cannot restore the hegemonic role it played in Europe in the postwar era, but it continues to exercise an influence beyond its economic power and certainly beyond its capacity to offer security to its allies. The nations of Europe are powerful enough to prevent the resurgence of Pax Americana and have too many diverse interests to want it. But so far, at least, they do not have the will or the power to put forward an alternative vision of security. The status quo is drift. □

THE NEARNESS

It takes the off-moment
when not really looking
to see the wary red fox
or the silent snowy owl
directly over one's head
when walking in the woods.

Note the ancient apple trees
pretending to be young,
a gaudy heft to their limbs,
or the sudden mushrooms
strenuously at work lifting
thatches of pine needles.

Withhold that heavy boot
from a furz of red lichen,
let the white violet be:
go deliberately looking
and you'll never find
what is best out here.

Catch them at their living
but no one must know,
not even myself, or you.

Curtis Harnack

THEATER.

PAUL BERMAN

A Map of the World
Aunt Dan & Lemon

David Hare is a member of the British New Left class of 1968 whose work mirrors the experiences and thoughts of that generation—or so I judge from what Hare has presented to American audiences. His early play *Fanshen*, which offered a naïve account of the Chinese revolution, exemplified the Maoism that overtook portions of the New Left just before the movement's decline. *Plenty*, which ran in New York three years ago (and has now been made into a movie), concerns a World War II Resistance fighter and her postwar difficulties, but it could also be taken as a picture of the comedown New Leftists experienced once their movement fell apart.

Hare's recent *Wetherby* seemed to me an incoherent play mistakenly made into a movie. But his play *A Map of the World*, which ran at the Public Theater for much of the fall, is plain enough. It continues his saga of the New Left generation, this time without disguise. For if *Fanshen* showed the idealism of the New Left at its grandest and most self-defeating moment, and *Plenty* showed the pain of the postrevolutionary decline, *A Map of the World* shows someone with a New Left sensibility keeping the faith in spite of the failures and disappointments. It is a play about socialist survival in the face of clever conservative onslaughts, and since Hare is nothing loath to take on the big issues,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it is also a play of ideas, a debate, in fact, between old-fashioned New Leftism and new-style old conservatism—the sort of debate that everyone with the slightest interest in socialism has had to conduct in the last several years.

Hare's radical is a young correspondent for a left-wing British intellectual magazine. His conservative is an Indian novelist in the pattern of V.S. Naipaul, who lives in England and excoriates the Third World. The journalist argues for aiding the young countries and the poor. "They must be helped!" he cries. "Nobody can help," replies the novelist. "Except by example. By what one is. One is civilized. One is cultured. One is rational. That is how you help other people live." The journalist thinks preachings like that are cruel and callous. The novelist accuses trendy Western thinkers like the journalist of sneering at the very people they claim to care about:

> Not content with flaunting its wealth, the West now fashionably pretends that the materialism that has produced this wealth is not a good thing. Well, at least give us a chance to find out, say the poor. For God's sake let us practise this contempt ourselves. Instead of sending the Third World doctors and mechanics, we now send them hippies, and Marxist thinkers, and animal conservationists, and ecologists, and wandering fake Zen Buddhist students, who hasten to reassure the illiterate that theirs is a superior life to that of the West. What hypocrisy!

The journalist praises the Chinese Communists for at least trying to deal with poverty and social chaos, unlike the Indians. The novelist laughs at the Chinese leaders as stuffy pooh-bahs who publish their own poetry and make themselves ridiculous. But this is snobbery, the journalist says, a form of terminal disdain, a sense of superiority so prickly and unbridgeable it cuts the novelist off from the strivings for a better life that can be seen all over the world. It is the attitude of a person who lives in a bunker. It is the revenge of the old. It is no way to live. And the audience, listening to this spirited exchange, can't help bouncing back and forth like a tennis ball, now struck by the truths of compassionate solidarity—thwack!—now by the truths of cultured individualism—thwack!

Hare has always cultivated an extravagant fondness for structural complexity. He slices his plays into fragments; he obliges the audience to piece together a story line. And it is true that all the piecing in the world can't quite make sense of a work like *Map*, which is a play about a movie supposedly based on the novelist's book about a Unesco conference in India, where novelist debates journalist in order to win a brainless bimbo from America. Huh? responds the audience. At least the moments of dazed confusion give you a chance to catch your breath. And the preposterous contest over the bimbo does succeed in deflating the lofty declamations of left and right, as if Hare were crudely chanting, "Principles? What principles?" at his solemn stage intellectuals. Bimbo-chasing is the life of the mind, he means to say. Ludicrousness is realism.

The troubling flaw lies in the debate itself, which turns on the journalist's attempt to pressure the novelist publicly to disown his views. Communist delegates from Africa threaten to boycott the conference if the novelist doesn't comply. It is because, as an African explains, the Third World resents being treated contemptuously by the Western media. Humiliating the novelist will serve as a bit of revenge. This makes for a stimulating argument—also a witty one. Literary theory creeps in. What is a novel anyway? the delegates ask. The nonaligned countries take no position on that subject "of no conceivable general interest." Sweden makes a statement. All of which is very clever.

But you do notice that, in pushing the novelist to renounce his own writings, Hare's upholder of compassionate solidarity has lapsed into the Stalinist assumption that the proper role of intellect is to falsify on behalf of revolutionary governments and the greater good. And it's not just here that Hare's leftism makes the politically sophisticated audience squirm. A couple of secondary characters launch into a discussion of Zionism where the position Hare means to identify as progressive lacks even a trace of sympathy for Israel. And you do remember, watching *Map*, that Hare is the same fellow who, in *Fanshen*, celebrated Maoism with blithe unawareness of how totalitarianism works, and that Hare's leftism has always been of the primitive stamp that derives not from libertarian or democratic socialist traditions but from communism. I know in England there are

Learn Spanish and French the U.S. Foreign Service way!

Now you can learn to speak Latin American Spanish or French with the courses good enough for the U.S. State Department's Foreign Service Corps—the same ones they've created to teach their own overseas personnel.

You can be fluent in Spanish or French. That's right, *fluent!* You can be speaking with all the confidence of a seasoned traveler in a matter of weeks. As well-versed in your new language as if *you* worked for the Foreign Service Corps—because that's exactly whom you'll be learning from.

The Foreign Service Institute has carefully developed, tested, and refined its language courses to train the U.S. State Department's overseas personnel quickly, thoroughly, and effectively. The clear, easy to follow approach and arrangement of material makes this a perfect method for self-instruction.

Now the FSI's complete self-instructional audio cassette courses are available to *you*. We will send you the entire Department of State audio cassette series and instruction books—the same ones you've seen advertised at much higher prices — to lead you step by step to fluent Spanish or French in weeks. You work when and where you can, at your own pace, following the taped lessons. You progress according to the schedule *you* establish.

Both courses use native speakers exclusively so that you hear exactly how each word, sentence, and conversation should sound. It won't be long before you start speaking and thinking in your new language. **These programs have to work—our State Department depends on them!**

MONEY-BACK GUARANTEE: try the FSI course of your choice for three weeks. If you are not completely satisfied, return it for a full refund. **There's no risk and no obligation, so order today!**

pinnacle *"The best way to learn a language."*
Dept. 531, 215 E. 79th St., New York, N.Y. 10021 (212) 863-8390

Please send me the following course(s) shipped in attractive library albums.

☐ Enclosed is my check or MO for $_____ (In NY add sales tax.)
Charge my: ☐ MC ☐ Visa ☐ Amex ☐ DC No. _____ Exp. Date

☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 1 Basic:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.) manual and 464-page text. **$100**
☐ **Programmatic Spanish—Vol. 2 Intermediate:** 8 cassettes (12 hrs.) manual and 614-page text. **$90**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $180.**
☐ **Basic French—Part 1:** 11 cassettes (16 hrs.); and 200-page text. **$100**
☐ **Basic French—Part 2:** 18 cassettes (25 hrs.); and 300-page text. **$125**
☐ **Both Volumes for Only $200.**

Signature_____ Name_____
Address_____
City_____ State_____ Zip_____

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

EVENTS.

1984 Academy Survey of Documentary Films
ONE MAN'S FIGHT FOR LIFE
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 19, 3 AND 6:30 PM
The Museum of Modern Art
11 West 53rd Street, New York City
The Academy Survey is a special program of the Museum's "What's Happening?" series of social and political films.

AMERICA
50 ARTISTS FOR THE HOMELESS
A benefit exhibition at
The Kraine Club Gallery
85 East 4th Street, New York City
FRIDAY TO SUNDAY AFTERNOONS, TO DECEMBER 22
For more information (212) 982-7118.

A WOMEN'S DEMONSTRATION AGAINST APARTHEID
Support the women of South Africa in their struggle.
SATURDAY, DECEMBER 21, 12 NOON TO 2 PM
South African Airways
54th Street and 3rd Avenue
New York City
Sponsored by a coalition of women's groups.

THE BREAD AND PUPPET THEATER
in a new work
THE DAILY NEWS NATIVITY
THROUGH DECEMBER 21, 8 PM
MATINEES ON DECEMBER 20 AND 21, 5 PM
Judson Memorial Church
55 Washington Square South
New York City
Admission $5 or TDF voucher
For reservations call (212) 473-6449 between 9 and 5.

The Washington School of the Institute for Policy Studies presents
THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE COLD WAR
A 10-week class
Mondays, January 13 through March 17
With: Dorothy Healey, Andrew Kopkind, Noam Chomsky, Alexander Cockburn, Peter Biskind, Chris Jacobs, Marc Raskin, Dick Barnet, Philip Brenner.
$80, single sessions $10.
Call (202) 234-9382.

DRAW AN OVERFLOW AUDIENCE
Reach 65,000 Nation subscribers, with an Event ad, for only $35 an inch.

Deadline is Wednesday, 17 days before cover date. Mail ads to The Nation Events Dept. or call (212) 242-8400, ext. 26.

members of the New Left theater movement who regard Hare as a heretical skeptic of dubious reliability when it comes to the post-communist orthodoxies; but I see him as someone who has never succeeded in getting free of those primitive elements, the "totalitarian shroud," in Herbert Gutman's phrase, that even today drape the unenlightened portions of the modern left.

How frustrating, how disappointing to anyone of a democratic left-wing sensibility. Hare meant to present radicalism in a good light, but he has served up precisely the attitudes that are most easily devastated by conservative rejoinder. I left the theater thinking that Hare's journalist, because of his idealism, which is nicely portrayed, had done as the playwright intended and carried the day—barely, and in spite of the mindless aspect of his views. But Mel Gussow reports in *The New York Times* that most people came out thinking the novelist had won. And you can see why. Hare has certainly put a first-rate conservative on stage. The novelist displays none of the dismissable elements of modern conservatism, none of the Christian fundamentalism, the intellectual know-nothingism, the predilection for fascism or the slobbering greed that intelligent audiences would rightly sneer at. Hare has shown us conservatism at its best, not at its most typical.

But his leftist is merely, among British New Leftists, typical. Hare could have given us someone who has thought through the issues of communism. He could have presented arguments that don't reflect the anti-Zionist prejudices that are all too common on the British left. He could have created a sophisticated socialist, a left-wing anti-communist, someone who is a libertarian in cultural matters as well as a collectivist in economics. That would have made a fine debate—the shrewdest of the left against the shrewdest of the right. But here is a first-rate conservative, and here is a second-rate leftist, and the contest between these unequal foes is the one we are obliged to watch too often in life and might have liked to see improved upon in the theater.

Still, Hare deserves admiration. He is a talented writer, and if his politics lack a sharp edge, he has still succeeded in staging a genuine debate, a central debate for the modern left, the crucial debate, one might even say. He makes us think the way a good play of ideas can. He has certainly shown that the English socialist school of theater continues to write the liveliest plays today. The production of *A Map of the World* at the Public featured outstanding acting by Roshan Seth as the novelist and Zeljko Ivanek as the journalist. Elizabeth McGovern was the bimbo, Hayden Griffin created a clever set and Hare did his own directing.

A second play of ideas has been running at the Public, *Aunt Dan & Lemon* by Wallace Shawn. Frank Rich of *The New York Times*, who didn't much like *A Map of the World*, was sufficiently enthusiastic about *Aunt Dan* to bring in the crowds. *Aunt Dan* is, however, a repulsive, self-indulgent spiel on Nazi themes and not at all a legitimate play of ideas, since you can always dismiss the nasty right-wing arguments that are presented (the main character favors the Holocaust) by saying to yourself, as you could never do with David Hare's play, that the person upholding the argument is disgusting and insane. In plays of ideas, either the arguments must be convincing or the people offering them must be walking testimonies to the arguments' good character. That is a law of theater, and Wallace Shawn breaks it. A law of modern political discussion requires that gas chambers never be invoked unless the author has adequate reason, and Shawn breaks this law as well. The play is directed by Max Stafford-Clark, another lively veteran of the British spirit of '68. □

Join the Nation Associates, a group of loyal and committed *Nation* readers who provide invaluable support for the magazine through annual contributions of $20 or more. Membership includes "The Nation Associate," a newsletter that tells you what's going on behind the scenes at *The Nation*, and invitations to many *Nation*-sponsored events.

For further information write or call Nancy Bacher, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011, (212) 242-8400. Make checks payable to The Nation Associates.

When drafting your will, please consider making a bequest to *The Nation*.

For information, write or call: Office of the Publisher, *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011 (212) 242-8400.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

While we reserve the right to refuse any advertisement that we believe to be fraudulent, illegal or offensive, The Nation *wishes its readers to know: a) we do not have the facilities to check out the promises made by our advertisers; and b) we have a strong presumption against censoring any advertisement, especially if we disagree with its politics.*

BOOKS

400 SELF-IMPROVEMENT BOOKS. $1 (refundable) for brochure. Harcom Enterprises, Dept. 43A, 53 Sherman Street, Patchogue, NY 11772.

MIND AND TISSUE: SOVIET brain research perspectives. $9.50. Raymond Peat, Box 3427, Eugene, OR 97403.

BOOKLETS

SCHOLARLY BOOKLET PROVES JESUS NEVER EXISTED!

Conclusive proof Flavius Josephus created fictional Jesus, authored Gospels. AMAZING but **ABSOLUTELY INCONTROVERTIBLE!** Send $4 to Vector Associates, Box 6215-B, Bellevue, WA 98008. Or request details.

COUNSELING

WOMAN PSYCHOTHERAPIST, 19 years experience, Ph.D. in clinical psychology. Insight-oriented and analytic, crisis intervention; short-term; long-term intensive psychoanalytic approach. Free consultation. Sliding scale. Carnegie Hall vicinity, New York City. (212) 582-5508.

EDUCATION

STUDY SPANISH IN COSTA RICA. 2 to 3 hours daily, all levels, rolling registration. Learn in sunny, safe, inexpensive and democratic Costa Rica. Write: Centro Cultural, Apartado 1489-1000, San Jose, Costa Rica.

STUDY SPANISH IN NICARAGUA

Four hours of classes daily, meetings with political leaders, family living, and community work. Monthly entry dates.

Casa Nicaraguense de Espanol. 853 Broadway, Room 1105, New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-1197.

"NICA": ESTELI, NICARAGUA

Learn Spanish in revolutionary Nicaragua! NICA offers year-round programs of family living, language classes, community work and seminars with Nicaraguan leaders. Apply now for 1986 sessions. Call or write: NICA, Box 1409, Cambridge, MA 02238. (617) 497-7142.

¡Speak Spanish like a diplomat!

Learn on your own with audio-cassette courses used by U.S. State Dept. Programmed for easy learning, 42 languages in all. Comprehensive. Free catalog. Write:
AUDIO-FORUM® Dept. 190, 96 Broad St. Guilford, CT 06437

FUND RAISING

PEACE, SAFE-ENERGY GROUPS—Raise money and spread the word. Sell Out of the Darkness, a record or tape featuring songs on peace and safe energy sung by Pete Seeger, Kate Wolf, Holly Near, Jesse Colin Young, many others. Sold to groups at bulk rates. For information write Box 3827, Berkeley, CA 94703 or call (415) 547-6696 from 1 to 5 pm.

GAMES & PUZZLES

THE NATION'S BEST PUZZLES: brain-teasers by Frank W. Lewis, collected in book #4. Send $4 ppd. to E.S. Lewis, 1620 Acushnet Avenue, New Bedford, MA 02746.

INSURANCE

DONALD SHAFFER ASSOCIATES, INC.
INSURANCE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES
Specialists in Pension & Employee Benefit Planning
11 GRACE AVENUE, Great Neck, NY 11021
718-895-7005, 516-466-4642

MERCHANDISE

FASHION STATEMENT

The Nation T-shirt is a fashionable way to make a statement. Black or Red T-shirt, both with white lettering, all cotton. S,M,L and XL. $8.95 each (includes postage). Mail check or money order to The Nation Fashion Mart, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. (New York residents add sales tax.)

ORGANIZATIONS

NATIONAL WRITERS UNION. Collective bargaining. Grievance procedures. Health insurance. Journalists, authors, poets, commercial writers. National Writers Union, Box C, 13 Astor Place, New York, NY 10003.

WOULD YOU LIKE to be more closely involved with The Nation? Join The Nation Associates and get behind the scenes at America's oldest weekly journal of opinion. Call Nancy Bacher (212) 242-8400.

PERSONALS

SINGLE BOOKLOVERS for all cultured singles, 3,000 members. Nationwide. Established 1970. Write Box 117, Gradyville, PA 19039 or call (215) 358-5049.

CONCERNED SINGLES NEWSLETTER links compatible, peace-oriented singles, all areas. Free sample: Box 7737-A, Berkeley, CA 94707

DESPERATELY SEEKING RIGHT MAN—sixtyish, literate, informed, energetic, interested in theater, world affairs, animals, travel, outdoors. Such a paragon sought by Berkeley woman who has similar qualities. Nation Box 17.

POSITIONS AVAILABLE

EDITOR for the ALERT, CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador) national newspaper. Writing and editing experience required.

PRODUCTION COORDINATOR for the ALERT. Design and layout experience required. Both positions: $760 per month, health insurance.

Send resume, writing sample or graphics sample to: CISPES, Box 50139, Washington, DC 20004. (202) 393-3370.

FUND-RAISERS. CISPES national office has two job openings for fund-raisers. Experience in one or more of the following areas required: direct mail, grant seeking, phone banking, major donor solicitation, sustainer programs, benefits and special events. Familiarity with computers desirable. Full-time positions offer $760 per month, health insurance, paid vacations. Third World applicants especially encouraged. Send resume and relevant writing sample by January 1 to Christina Cowger, Box 50139, Washington, DC 20004. (202) 393-3370.

NICARAGUA NEEDS COMPUTER PROFESSIONALS, engineers, economists, technicians, machinists, statisticians, etc. for 2-week (or more) volunteer work. Group trips every 8 weeks. Call TechNICA: California (415) 654-7768, Boston (617) 782-0510, New York (212) 427-0634.

FUND-RAISING COORDINATOR. National Mobilization for Survival seeks fund-raising coordinator to administer and oversee fund-raising work. General organizing skills, ability to coordinate several operations simultaneously, and knowledge of peace and justice issues a must. Fund-raising experience helpful. $250 per week plus benefits. Send resume, cover letter to: Personnel Committee, Mobilization for Survival, 853 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. Deadline January 13. Affirmative Action employer.

ALTERNATIVE JOB/INTERNSHIP OPPORTUNITIES! The environment, women's rights, disarmament, media, health, community organizing, and more. Current nationwide listings, $3. COMMUNITY JOBS, Box 1105, 1520 16th Street N.W., Washington DC 20036.

POSITIONS DESIRED

SOCIAL SECRETARY. Gracious, articulate, outgoing woman will manage your home, train staff, help with business affairs. Full secretarial skills, excellent business and cultural background. Please contact (212) 475-6506.

POSTERS

GENITALIA OF ANIMAL KINGDOM. Poster depicts 12 male organs from man to whale. Scientific but funny. $10. Poster C, Box 1348, New York, NY 10025.

ORIGINAL PROTEST POSTERS from South Africa—"Forward to Freedom"; "Release our People"; 1986 calendar from Federation of South African Trade Unions. All proceeds to liberation groups in South Africa. $7.50 each, $20 for three, plus $2 handling. POSTER PROJECT, Box 2911, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

PUBLICATIONS

TECHNOCRACY-TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIAL DESIGN available for $2 from Technocracy Inc., Continental Headquarters, Savannah, OH 44874.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CLASSIFIED.

PUBLICATIONS

THE PEOPLE. Socialist biweekly covering major national/international developments. Since 1891. $4/one year, includes free pamplet. "Capitalism and Unemployment." $1/four months. The People (N1), 914 Industrial Avenue, Palo Alto, CA 94303.

NON-WHITE IMMIGRANTS ARE MAKING IT, BLACKS AREN'T

Are blacks to blame? Many say yes.

Find out in the December/January issue of OFARI'S BI-MONTHLY, Box 2368, Inglewood, CA 90305, $1.50.

SMALL TOWN, the voice of small town America. Articles on planning, preservation, attracting industry, housing, shopping malls, central business district improvement and other matters of interest to small communities. Individual membership in The Small Town Institute, $30. Box 517, Ellensburg, WA 98926. Just out, 100-page Historic Preservation Resourcebook. Special prices for bulk orders.

Stocking Stuffers

Nation Special Issues. Send them as a present to your friends who don't subscribe or order the issues you missed for holiday reading.

1985 Special Issues: "Reflections on a Glass House: The U.N. at 40," "The Selling of Miss Liberty," "The Education Wars" and "Many Bhopals: Technology Out of Control," "Beyond Westmoreland: The Right's Attack on the Press."

Latin America Issues: "Latin America: a Political Guide," "El Salvador," and "Central America."

The 2 K.A.L. issues: "K.A.L. 007: What the U.S. Knew and When We Knew It" and "K.A.L. 007: Unanswered Questions."

Holiday Prices: $3 each. $2 each orders of 10 or more.

We are happy to include your card if you are sending the issues as a gift. Delivery within 2 weeks.

Send check/money order to The Nation Reprints, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011. New York residents add appropriate sales tax.

PUBLICATIONS

MIND AND TISSUE: SOVIET brain research perspectives. $9.50. Raymond Peat, Box 3427, Eugene, OR 97403.

THE NEW YORK PEACE NETWORK CALENDAR

A monthly calendar listing the peace and social justice events and actions of over 60 New York area groups. For a year subscription send $5 to: New York Peace Network, 225 Lafayette Street, Room 207, New York, NY 10012. Your organization can become part of the network and publicize its programs in the calendar for $60 a year.

REAL ESTATE

GOVERNMENT HOMES from $1. (U Repair). Also delinquent tax property. Call (805) 687-6000, ext GH-3596 for information.

RECIPES

DELICIOUS HOMEMADE FRUITCAKE for the holidays, slices without crumbling; also old-fashioned oatmeal/nut cookies, 100 percent healthful, all natural ingredients. Send $2 cash for each to GMB Enterprises, Box 895, Newark, NJ 07101.

RELIGION

136 + BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS, 49 Biblical Absurdities, More! $3. Crusade Publications, Box 200-U, Redmond, WA 98052.

TRAVEL

NICARAGUA. People-to-people, one-week trip delegations from Los Angeles and San Francisco areas, or join us in Mexico City. First 1986 trip departs February 10. Information: Alice McGrath, Office of the Americas, 1227 4th Street, Santa Monica, CA 90401. (213) 451-2428.

TRAVEL

HISTORIC! Mississippi Peace Cruise. Join Russians and Americans, dialogues, workshops, much more on Delta Queen Steamboat. July 26 to August 2, 1986. Contact Promoting Enduring Peace, Box 5103, Woodmont, CT 06460. Phone (203) 878-4769.

TOUR NICARAGUA with Casa Nicaragua. February 15 to March 1, 1986. Visit the Atlantic coast and all major cities. Meet with representatives of popular mass organizations. For information (212) 769-4293 or (718) 287-1830.

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO 2082

For the convenience of those who wish to place a classified notice in *THE NATION:*

RATES: $.80 per word, 15 word minimum; telephone and POB numbers count as two words, abbreviations and zip codes as one. Classified Display: $35/column inch. Copy deadline 17 days prior to issue date. **Payment must accompany order.**

Take advantage of our special offer: place an order for three insertions of your ad, and we will print a fourth insertion free!

TO: *THE NATION*
Classified Department
72 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., NY 10011

Enclosed is my check for $_____ for my advertisement to run ____ weeks

Advertiser _____

Address _____ City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Copy: _____

Payment in U.S. currency

MOVING?

ATTACH MAILING LABEL HERE

Don't miss a single issue of THE NATION.

New address:

Name _____

Street _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

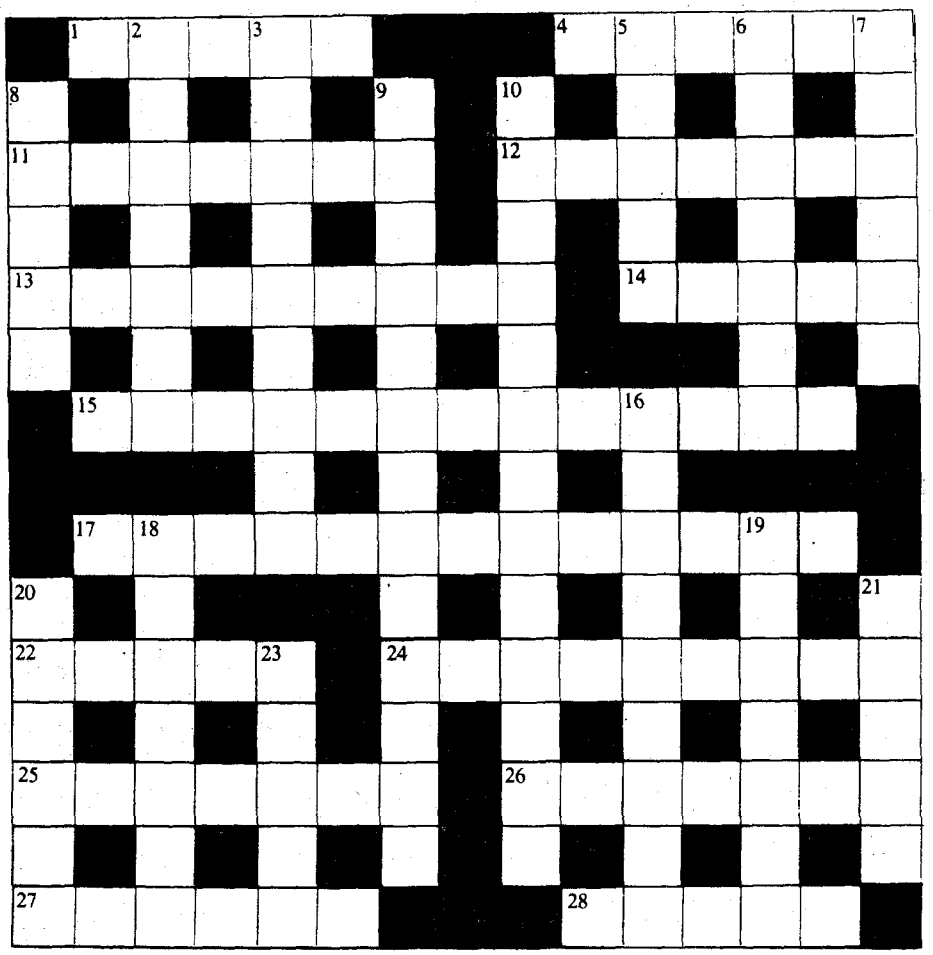
Please allow 6-8 weeks for processing.

Mail to: THE NATION
P.O. Box 1953
Marion, Ohio 43305

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Crossword Puzzle No. 2083

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A couple might get support this way. (5)
4 A kind of circle, with only part of the circle having contraction. (6)
11 Hardy girl, taking time to make up a small square of it. (7)
12 Nice at one end of it! (7)
13 Among other things, sat in Alsatia? (5,4)
14 In return, one shouldn't do this to you nowadays. (5)
15 Get along with it! (In a sort of limbo, a tip is found in town.) (13)
17 You wouldn't be safe to be found out in them. (8,5)
22 A bonbon for the rich, sort of? It's not on! (5)
24 Rhubarb might grow out of it in 17—and you wouldn't have to pay long-distance rates to order it. (5,4)
25 If it finally went east instead of north, you could make eternal light with it. (7)
26 But what's the point in getting sick when fixing things? (7)
27 and 6 down Cross-reference? (1,5,3,4)
28 One might represent the common man. (5)

DOWN

2 The Holy Roman Emperor has the title coming up before dinner perhaps. . . (7)
3 . . . with this for dessert. (6,3)
5 He might be a good watchdog, but how could you keep him at home? (5)
6 See 27 across
7 As a rocker, recently brought back to the stage? (The play might be associated with depression.) (6)
8 Fashioned out of satin, but certainly you don't get a good mark! (5)
9 This should keep you on your toes! (6,7)
10 The court procedure calls for a dance, possibly soon. (They might get sent up!) (5,8)
16 Going around the type that's half-size, you could get a rise out of it! (9)
18 The interdiction seems to be 13 here. (7)
19 Mrs. Peron's got nothing inside in here, but it's one way to get around! (7)
20 The mouth of a stream in a substance to promote cohesion. (6)
21 Stops things with shoes for dances. (5)
23 4 across is apt to be like the house of an English author. (Blake, possibly.) (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

PUZZLED?

No more cross words. Find out why "little skipper" is a "truant." Send for a free copy of Frank W. Lewis's Ground Rules to *The Nation*, 72 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10011.

ABOUT YOUR *NATION* SUBSCRIPTION

NOTE: Subscription orders, changes of address, and all subscription inquiries should be sent to: The Nation, Box 1953, Marion, OH 43305.

Please allow us six weeks to solve a subscription problem or to change your address. These transactions are handled by our subscription service in Marion, Ohio. They operate their computers on a long-range schedule that allows for orderly processing, generating reports and producing labels for mailing the magazine.

You may get a bill or a renewal notice after you have already paid or renewed. Please disregard it. Bills and renewal notices are mailed on a monthly basis, but since the information must be pulled two weeks before the mailing, bills and payments sometimes cross in the mail.

Changing your address. When you change your address, we need the complete old and new addresses as well as a copy of your mailing label, if possible. If your new address is temporary please send to "temporary address change" and make sure to include your permanent address, your temporary address, and the dates of the change.

Missed copies. We publish 47 issues and send over 2½ million copies to our subscribers each year. Occasionally copies go astray, for a variety of reasons. If you notify us of missed copies within 60 days of the issue date, we will be happy to replace them.

Mailing list. The *Nation* makes its subscription list available to carefully screened organizations whose programs or services may interest our readers. No one is allowed to use our list without our approval. If you do not wish to receive such solicitations, however, please advise us and we will delete your name from the lists we make available.

Foreign subscriptions. Copies going overseas are shipped by surface mail and may take several months to reach subscribers. Air mail is more expensive but copies will arrive usually within two weeks. Air mail rates are available on request.

The Nation hopes to give its subscribers the best possible service. We appreciate your cooperation and understanding.

X-523

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We Don't Just Talk About It

At Co-op America talking about change and reporting on the successes are important. In our magazine, ***Building Economic Alternatives***, we present the practical strategies that communities and businesses are developing—and what these strategies can mean to you. But if the economic system that controls so much of our society is ever to be influenced by our values, it will also take economic action. We need to develop new options.

WE DO IT!

Last year, through Co-op America's alternative catalog, health insurance plan, and other services almost $5 million flowed from progressive people to co-ops, non-profit groups, and businesses that care about the environment, their communities, and their workers.

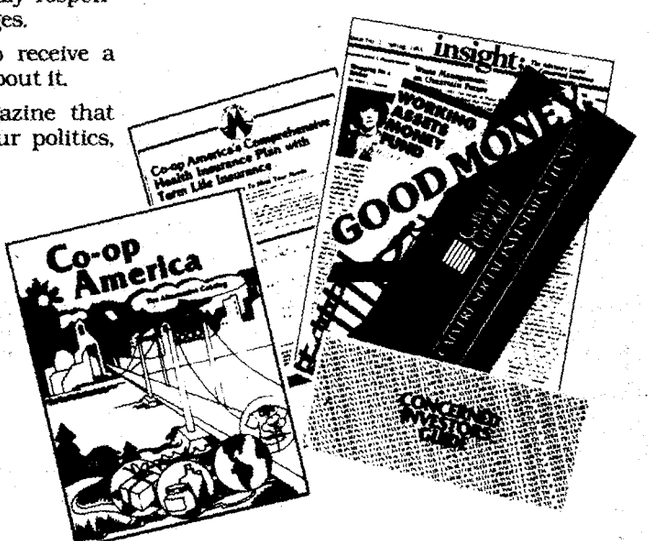
Co-op America is taking the *first* critical steps to build an economic system which lives up to our values. Co-op America is a non-profit national membership association linking hundreds of progressive organizations and thousands of equally concerned individuals.

We want you to join with us to build an economic alternative. . . a marketplace where social values and community accountability are as important as the bottom line.

To receive more information or to become a member complete the coupon below.

As a Co-op America member, here are some of the action-oriented benefits you receive:

- A **Catalog** with hundreds of products that will delight and challenge you—natural fiber clothing, political books, furniture, Appalachian crafts, gift items, Third World products, music, and much more—all from Co-op America member organizations.
- Access to an innovative **health insurance plan** that provides you with excellent protection and benefits as well as socially responsible investment of premiums and input into plan changes.
- **Socially responsible investment** information—how to receive a secure and strong return on your money and feel good about it.
- ***Building Economic Alternatives***, the quarterly magazine that provides practical strategies to help you integrate your politics, lifestyle choices and values.



Please send me more information on membership and the many services available to members

Name_____ Phone (____) _____

Address_____ County_____

City_____ State_____ Zip_____

Co-op America, 2100 M Street, NW, Suite 310, Washington, DC 20063, 1-800-424-COOP or (202) 872-5307 322

FTSU LIBRARY

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED